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THE HISTORY  
OF  
N A P O L E O N :

EDITED BY R. H. HORNE.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MANY HUNDRED ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD,  
FROM DESIGNS BY

RAFFET AND HORACE VERNET.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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1261.



## PREFACE.

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IN historical compositions, the chief characters and events of which have produced a powerful influence on men and things, the difficulties attending the task are not so much occasioned by the complexities of the facts, as by the conflict of feelings amongst various classes of readers. Whenever a truth is discovered, nothing can be easier than to state it; but to state it in the way best adapted to gain due credence among the majority of all parties, yet without compromising its integrity, requires the most entire equanimity of thought and feeling. The attainment of this rare condition of mind can seldom be accomplished by any means so efficient as a full perception of the fact that, in most cases, "men's judgments are a parcel of their fortunes;" for circumstances, rather than the will, determine opinion.

These difficulties, however, are enhanced to the extreme, when, as in the history of Napoleon, the chief agents and sufferers are of recent date, and when the events were of a nature to call into play the strongest passions, interests, and opinions—political, social, commercial, philosophical, and religious; the consequences of which are still fresh in the memory of the world, and still felt strongly by extensive populations. It will be sufficient to instance the great alterations in the system of war; the final extinction of faith in the old principle of "divine right;" the establishment of great public works in the countries over which Napoleon's power extended; the

enormous increase of our own taxation, originating in twenty years of war; the great amelioration in the jurisprudence of France,—its system of national education, communal regulations, and civil and criminal laws; and the conflict and progression of public opinion throughout Europe.

Under such circumstances, to satisfy everybody, is, of course, impossible. To attempt doing this would be short-sighted weakness. Those individuals, however highly-educated and well-intentioned, who take up a work of history, biography, or science, with a desire to find nothing but harmonious replications of what they knew or imagined before, and to derive fresh confirmation of old beliefs; those who are anxious to receive only the information that amalgamates with, and enhances, those opinions which they think it most advantageous and correct to adopt; all such individuals necessarily constitute the minority of readers to whom a work like the present is chiefly addressed. Constructed on any pre-determined views, suited to particular parties and classes of opinions, a work of history would be rendered angular, distorted, and temporary,—instead of circular, symmetrical, and permanent. The former method addresses itself expressly to a class; the latter, to the majority of classes in its day; and,—in the present instance, with a deep and hopeful consciousness of the progress of the human intellect, and a correspondingly reverential submission to its final judgment,—to all future classes.

The history which is now offered to the public is built up and composed from the same original authorities as those consulted by previous historians and biographers; with the assistance also of the substantive works of the latter, and of all important works since published, or now in course of publication. From careful abstracts and references; from a dispassionate balancing of the single and collective facts, statements, opinions, and conjectural probabilities—occasionally found in direct opposition among authorities of equal influence and validity—I have sought to attain a fixed equilibrium of general truth. In particular instances, which have been the subject of much contest among opponent partisans, the most authentic accounts are given on both sides, with their most obvious conclusions, the writer usually stepping in as moderator, though sometimes leav-



ing the reader to judge for himself; but never shrinking, on important occasions, from plainly displaying (not insisting upon) his own convictions, and placing things in the broadest light of equal-eyed justice. That this attempt has been honestly made, I know; that it has been, hitherto, admitted to be successfully made, by most of the first authorities in periodical literature, the present opportunity is taken for returning all due acknowledgments.

The character and actions of Napoleon have never found in this country, as in France—a circumstance by no means extraordinary—what is understood by a mere partisan. Nearly every one of his English historians and biographers have been direct and manfully avowed enemies and denouncers. The constant fear of being “dazzled by the false glory” (a salutary fear with reference to the glory of all deeds of war) of this particular hero, has led to an opposite extreme, and injured the sight as to various qualities, actions, and facts, which at least claimed always a just, as they often deserved a generous, estimation. The chief exception to the general feeling of unqualified hostility is to be found in Hazlitt, whose earnest, powerful, though somewhat rambling work, written in the full vein of admiration, contains, nevertheless, some of the heaviest animadversions. These passages have, for the most part, been quoted, as an act of justice towards all parties. Emanating from such an admirer, they must indeed have been deserved; in other instances, however, I have almost always abstained from using strong language of any kind, my plan being rather to let events take their course, and narrate them as they occurred, without identifying myself, or any one else, in the scene, more than absolutely necessary or inevitable to our common conditions of humanity.

It has not been attempted to give a history of France in the stormy time of the Revolution, or in the successive periods of the Directory, the Consulate, or the Empire. The object has been to furnish a clear, just, and succinct view of the integral nature and corresponding actions of Napoleon; avoiding, as much as possible, all speculations on motives, and leaving them to be developed by, and deduced from, the entire course of such nature and actions. The violent feelings of the English public having now passed away, a period has already commenced for the exercise of a temperate judgment.



I have also endeavoured not to forestal time, broach theories, or dispense censure or praise; the very few exceptions that occur being unavoidable, either for the sake of clearness of narration, or from the extraordinary nature of the events themselves. The histories of other men, who lived in the time of Napoleon, have been entered upon so far only as they bore a reference to his; and, in like manner, the events of the world's changeful history have been given only so far as they stood in relation to him, influencing his actions, or receiving from him their form and colour. Whether he fulfilled his destiny in a manner worthy of being designated as true to himself; or, having the power, he fell short of the good he saw, and acted contrary to his best convictions;—this is the great problem which his historians and biographers are bound to furnish the best means of solving. The deep-searching and far-spreading investigations, into which an attempt to form an opinion concerning the consequences and results of his actions, would lead us, could not be undertaken without a comprehensive study and voluminous exposition of the moral and political world and its various mutations: they, consequently, form no part of the present design.

R. H. HORNE.

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## CHAPTER I.

BIRTH OF NAPOLEON—HIS FAMILY—BRIENNE—ANECDOTES—HIS EARLY CHARACTER—  
SNOW-BALLS—PARIS—GETS HIS COMMISSION—HIS FIRST LOVE—AUTHORSHIP.



NAPOLEON BONAPARTE was born on the 15th of August, 1769, at Ajaccio, in the Island of Corsica. There is reason to believe that his ancestors, on the mother's side, were Neapolitans; and that on his father's, they were members of certain noble houses of San Miniato, in Tuscany. The majority of his historians and biographers endeavour to shew that his descent was illustrious, if not slightly tinged with royalty. The name of *Bonaparte* stands high among the senators in the "Golden Book" of Bologna; but there is no proof that Napoleon was lineally descended from that family. The fact is not important; for inasmuch as Time can easily trace many men back to something of nobility, so the retrospection has only to be extended in order to prove the origin of all men very humble. Whatever qualities were displayed by Napoleon, he did not derive his power from his family, but from his own nature, his own actions, and the circumstances of which he was the creature and the creator.



Charles Bonaparte, the father of Napoleon, was a man of good intellect and education; possessing much eloquence, a dignified address, and unaffected vivacity. He was an advocate in the Royal Court of Assize. He manifested his patriotism and energy in the struggle of the Corsicans under Paoli, against the barter of their country, effected by the Genoese, with the French, through the diplomatic manœuvre of the Duke de Choiseul. Various circumstances shew that Charles Bonaparte was held in respect by his countrymen, and possessed their confidence. To the scene of warfare in which he had taken so prominent a part, he was accompanied by his wife, Letitia Ramolini, a lady of superior mind, much beauty and courage, and who often shared the fatigues and dangers he encountered.

The French won the battle of Ponte Nuovo, which decided the fate of the Corsicans; and Letitia Ramolini, then *enceinte*, was compelled to take refuge among the mountains of Ronda, whence she regained Ajaccio in safety. Here, being anxious to attend mass at the celebration of the Assumption, she went forth at an imprudent period; felt herself overtaken with sudden pains, returned home in haste, but was unable to reach her chamber in time. The mother and her offspring were found lying upon a carpet in an adjacent room, Letitia Ramolini having there given birth to a son. The child was called Napoleon.

It is not unreasonable to suppose, "that the harassed life and high-wrought feelings of his mother, previously to his birth, might have had an influence on the temper and future fortunes of the son." He was called Napoleon after one of the Italian Bonaparte family. A *Saint Napoleone* once existed in the Romish calendar, but had fallen out by some accident or neglect. In after times, the Pope restored the Saint to his former rank, in compliment to his more fortunate namesake.

Many prognostics are reported to have been made concerning Napoleon, some of which, as is usual, would certainly never have come to light, had he not accomplished the assumed predictions; while others were evidently founded on close observation of his early character, or on certain precocious indications not easily mistaken. Among the former, we may class the predictions said to have been founded on the peculiar circumstances attending his birth. M. de Las Casas, for instance, having discovered that the carpet on which the future conqueror first saw the light was covered with antique figures, illustrative of certain fables or allegories, suggests that they were, perhaps, some of the heroes of Homer's *Iliad*. Subsequent biographers, overlooking the "perhaps," have adopted this fancy. The medical attendant of Letitia Ramolini would, doubtless, have accounted for the unadorned fact by a far more simple process of reason. Among the admissible class of these pre-visions, we must particularly notice the opinion delivered by his great uncle, the Archdeacon

Lucien, when on his death-bed. The archdeacon, who had been the preceptor and adviser of his relations, was always accustomed to consider Napoleon (the second son of Charles Bonaparte) as the head of the family; and so convinced was the dying man of the true grounds of his impression, that he exhorted the elder brother, Joseph, never to forget that fact.

Alluding to his childhood, Napoleon said, "I was an obstinate and inquisitive child. I was extremely headstrong; nothing overawed me, nothing disconcerted me. I made myself formidable to the whole family. My brother Joseph, was the one with whom I was oftenest embroiled; he was bitten, beaten, abused: I went to complain before he had time to recover from his confusion." To these characteristic traits, we must add that he displayed a vivid intelligence; rapid comprehension; a keen, and often, a splenetic sensibility; wilfulness under restraint; unbounded energy; and a violent temper. Whether the aggressor or the aggrieved, he generally gained his point. Nobody had any command over him except his mother, who found means, by a mixture of tenderness, severity, and strict justice, to make him love, respect, and obey her. From her he learnt the virtue of obedience.

In 1779, Napoleon obtained his admission to the Military School at Brienne, where he soon attracted notice by his reserved manners, and the assiduity with which he prosecuted his studies. He devoted himself principally to history, mathematics, and geography.





He spoke only the Corsican dialect on first entering the college, but speedily made great progress in the French language. He hated Latin. Bourrienne says of him, "During play-hours he used to withdraw to the library, where he read with deep interest works of history, particularly Polybius and Plutarch. I often went off to play with my comrades, and left him by himself in the library."

His poverty has been said to have subjected him to mortifications among his comrades; they also ridiculed him on account of his country, and twitted him with the obsolete Saint, whose name he bore. They sometimes made insulting allusions to his mother, and this exasperated him beyond all bounds.

Amidst the contradictory accounts given by biographers of the early character and conduct of Napoleon, a middle course will, probably, bring us nearest to the truth. He appears, at this time, to have been a studious, reflecting, solitary boy, whose premature development of mind, without a corresponding clearness of purposes, and objects to be attained, gave him a contempt for the companionship of his fellows, without inducing satisfaction in himself. Hence he was grave, moody, brusque; and sometimes morose, from disgust with his masters, his mates, himself, his position, and perhaps with everything else. He felt a power within him, but could not see his way. In spite of his devotion to the exact sciences, the hot imagination of youth got the better of the labours of the understanding, and there was probably a struggle going on within himself, which—considered apart from the good or evil of its future results—might ask some allowance, perhaps some sympathy.

The saturnine boy was evidently not suffered to remain unmolested in his solitary moods, as sundry bickerings attest; but in general he withdrew himself from all companionship in silent scorn. If he revenged himself, he did it openly, and not by any indirect means. He had occasionally to superintend certain tasks or duties. However he disliked his comrades, he never reported their misdemeanours; contemptuously preferring to go to prison himself. He and Bourrienne were once placed as superintendents of some duty, which being neglected, Napoleon persuaded the latter to accompany him to prison, rather than report the offenders. They remained ten days in confinement.

The first impression he received at Brienne was of an irritating nature, though originating in circumstances not commonly felt by boys of ten years of age. He observed a portrait of the Duke de Choiseul hanging in the hall. "The sight of this odious character, who had sold my country," he afterwards said, "extorted from me an expression of bitterness." For this he had to endure much persecution. "I let malevolence take its course," proceeded he, "and only applied more closely than ever to study. I perceived by this what human nature was."

At the same time that Bourrienne was Napoleon's fellow-student, Pichegru was his tutor. It is certain, however, that he made few friends among his masters or his school-mates: it is equally certain that some of the former entertained a high opinion of his intellect, and that he possessed great influence with the latter, notwithstanding their mutual animosities. On one occasion, the cadets had been ordered to confine themselves strictly within their own precincts, at the time of the annual fair held near Brienne; but, under the direction of Napoleon, they laid a plot to secure their usual day's diversion. They undermined the wall of their exercising ground, with so much skill and secrecy, that, on the morning of the fair, a part of it *accidentally* fell, and through the breach they instantly sallied to the prohibited amusement.\*

Many stories have been invented in order to shew the atrocities of Napoleon's early youth. One of these, which was generally believed in England, asserted that he fortified his garden against his comrades; and, watching an opportunity, fired a train of gunpowder, whereby many of them were seriously injured.



Bourrienne says, "The fabrication probably originated in the juvenile affair of the snow-forts and snow-balls. In the winter of 1783-84, there were immense falls of snow. Napoleon, being prevented from taking his solitary walks, proposed to his comrades that they should sweep and shovel up the snow in the great court-yard, and make horn-works, raise parapets, dig trenches, &c. 'This being done,' said he, 'we may divide ourselves into platoons, form a siege, and I will undertake to direct the

\* Sir Walter Scott, vol. iii. chap. 1.

attacks.' The proposal, which was received with enthusiasm, was immediately put into execution. This little sham war was carried on for the space of a fortnight."

Napoleon, being one day on a visit at the house of Madame de Brienne, heard a lady blaming Turenne for burning the Palatinate, when he immediately replied, "And what of that, madam, if it answered the end he had in view?" Bourrienne denies the authenticity of this anecdote; but the reason he adduces against it rather tends to prove the fact. Napoleon was quite likely to have said such a thing.

Whatever might have been the assiduity of Napoleon in his private studies and reflections, he made no very marvellous progress in the usual routine. Some of his French biographers, with Scott and Hazlitt subsequently, aver that the School was proud of him. It does not appear that there were any scholastic reasons for this, though the School no doubt became proud of the recollection. He, however, attained sufficient height in mathematics to pass his examination for admission to the Military School of Paris.

On arriving there, he found the whole establishment on so brilliant and expensive a footing, that he immediately addressed a memorial on the subject to the Vice-Principal of Brienne. He shewed that the plan of education was really pernicious, and far from being calculated to fulfil the object which every wise government must have in view. The result of the system, he said, was to inspire the pupils, who were all the sons of poor gentlemen, with a love of ostentation, or rather with sentiments of vanity and self-sufficiency; so that instead of returning happy to the bosom of their families, they were likely to be ashamed of their relations, and to despise their humble homes. Instead of the numerous attendants by whom they were surrounded, their dinners of two courses, and their horses and grooms, he suggested that they should perform little necessary services for themselves, such as brushing their clothes, and cleaning their boots and shoes; that they should eat the coarse bread made for soldiers, &c. Temperance and activity, he added, would render them robust, enable them to bear the severity of different seasons and climates, to brave the fatigues of war, and to inspire the respect and obedience of the soldiers under their command. Thus reasoned Napoleon, at the age of sixteen, and time shewed that he never deviated from these principles. Of this, the establishment of the Military School at Fontainebleau is a decided proof.\*

M. de l' Eguille, his instructor in history, is said to have made the following note in his reports of the scholars:—"Napoleon: Corsican in character, as well as by birth; he will go far, if circumstances assist him."

\* Bourrienne, vol. i. chap. 2.

He was as much distinguished for grave and studious habits at Paris as at Brienne; but he shewed a disposition to detect and expose abuses in the establishment, and this might perhaps have shortened the period of his residence at the college. He remained not quite a year. He had now begun to mingle a little in society, and attended the literary *conversazioni* of the Abbé Raynal, under whom he read a course on legislation and political science.

In August, 1785, he was examined by the celebrated mathematician La Place, and obtained the brevet of a second lieutenant of artillery in the regiment of La Fère; being then little more than sixteen years of age. In the beginning of this year, his father died.

The regiment of La Fère was stationed at Valence, in Dauphiny, where Napoleon was in garrison. He was well received at the house of a lady of the neighbourhood, named Madame de Colombier. He conceived an affection for her daughter; and the young lady appears to have





found pleasure in his society, and to have favoured him with sundry promenades in the gardens; "where the happiness of two lovers," as Napoleon used to relate, "was limited to their eating cherries together."

Some disturbances at Lyons caused his removal to that city, with his regiment. While here, he narrowly escaped being drowned in the Saone. The cramp seized him while swimming, and after repeated ineffectual struggles, he sank; but the current drifted him against a sand-bank, on which he was found in a state of insensibility by his companions.

His regiment afterwards passed to Douay, in Flanders, and to Auxonne, in Burgundy. While in garrison at this place, he composed a brief history of Corsica, and actually treated with M. Joly, a bookseller at Dole, for its publication. This bookseller went over to Auxonne to transact the business, and found Napoleon lodging in a chamber with bare walls, the only furniture in which was an indifferent bed without curtains, two chairs, and a table standing in the recess of a window, covered with books and papers; his brother, Louis, slept on a coarse mattress in an adjoining room. They agreed about the expense of the impression; but Napoleon was expecting every moment an order to leave Auxonne, and nothing was finally settled. The order arrived a few days after, and the work was never printed. This was not his first literary effort. While at Lyons, he had gained a gold medal, from the college, on the theme: "What are the sentiments most proper to be cultivated, in order to render men happy?" Both compositions are lost, but are known to have abounded in sentiments of liberty, in accordance with the spirit of the day. The Revolution had now broken out, and men's minds were everywhere in a state of ferment. Napoleon has left a vivid record of his impressions, as to the fearfully excited feelings of parties at this period. He had himself adopted the extreme of Republican opinions.







BONAPARTE, LIEUTENANT OF ARTILLERY.





## CHAPTER II.

CORSICA—PAOLI—HIS REVOLT—NAPOLEON'S POLITICS—POVERTY IN PARIS—THE KING  
AND THE MOB—EVENTS IN CORSICA—PROMOTION—TOULON—LITTLE GIBRALTAR.



WITHIN a year after the commencement of the Revolution, the venerable Pascal Paoli returned to his native island. He had devoted himself from his youth to the liberties of Corsica, and had lived in England since the period of their total overthrow, in the struggle of 1769, when the whole country was annexed as a province to France. Upon the passing of the decree, proposed by Mirabeau in the National Assembly, recalling the exiled Corsican patriots, Paoli

returned from his long banishment of twenty years, which had been shared by four or five hundred of his countrymen. He was hailed with shouts of enthusiasm on his arrival in Corsica, where he was appointed lieutenant-general in the French service.

In 1792, Napoleon obtained leave of absence from his regiment, and passed six months in Corsica. He immediately sought Paoli, who received him as the son of his old friend, and tried, by every means in



his power, to induce him to remain at a distance from the scenes of turbulence which then threatened France.

The Revolution had now assumed a fierce and desperate character. In its beginning, it had maintained a lofty aspect, pulling down arbitrary power, abolishing notorious abuses, with little bloodshed (and that little unauthorised), and building up a liberal and tolerably pure system of government, under the form of a constitutional monarchy. But the coalition of foreign powers against the innovation of this new state of things, had made France one vast camp, and the French people were roused to a state of frenzy. Beset on all sides, they prepared for the contest. The frontiers were ordered to be put in a state of defence, a hundred thousand national troops were levied, and the momentous struggle began.

Paoli was among the number of those friends of liberty who were shocked at the excesses into which France was carried by the convulsive effort to maintain her new principles. He again conceived the idea of asserting the independence of Corsica, and urged Napoleon to join him in the enterprise. Paoli was at this time nearly eighty years of age. He had a high opinion of Napoleon, and used to say, as he patted him on the shoulder, "This young man is cut from the antique: he is one of Plutarch's men." But Napoleon was not to be won. On the contrary, he tried to persuade Paoli that the Island ought not to be severed from its natural connexion, on account of the temporary inconvenience it had to suffer from the present alarming state of France, which he affirmed would not be lasting. Napoleon had, in fact, taken his part decisively. "He saw that Corsica was no longer the scene on which the love of freedom and of military prowess could take its stand. The great drama which Paoli had rehearsed in his younger days, in an obscure corner, had now got a 'kingdom for a stage, and nations to behold the swelling act.'"

Napoleon's first military enterprise was on the part of the French government, when he sailed against Sardinia, and was repulsed. It seems that the expedition failed through the bad management of his superiors; but, however, brought his men back in safety. He is also said to have taken a small fortress, called Torre di Capitello, but was so hotly besieged, that after a gallant defence, and holding out till the garrison was compelled to eat horse-flesh, he was obliged to evacuate the fortress, and retreat towards the sea.

While in Corsica, he was called to Paris to answer some charge made against him by an old enemy of his family. The accusation fell to the ground. He associated frequently with Bourrienne at this time, who narrates several curious and amusing anecdotes of him; such as his difficulty, in finding daily funds to pay for his dinner; his pawning his





THE MOB AT THE TUILERIES.

watch; and his proposals to Bourrienne that they should take several houses, then building, in the Rue Montholon, merely for the purpose of sub-letting them. "Every day," says Bourrienne, "we conceived some new project or other; everything failed. At the same time, he was soliciting employment at the War Office."

It was during this visit to Paris that Napoleon followed an infuriate crowd, in order to watch their proceedings. He saw the mass surround the Tuileries,—bring the King forth, and place a red cap upon his head. Upon which, Napoleon exclaimed, "How could they suffer this gross mob to enter! They should sweep down four or five hundred with the cannon, and then the rest would run away!" We cannot regard this by any means as a burst of loyalty: it was indignation and disgust at the triumph of anarchy, and exasperation at the King's imbecility. But the scene was not lost upon his clear-visioned mind; and he shortly afterwards wrote to his uncle Paravicini,—“Do not make yourself at all uneasy about your nephews; they'll help themselves to seats.”

The massacre of the Swiss guards, in the courts of the Tuileries, on the 10th of August, was also witnessed by Napoleon. The royal family, finding the National Guard had suddenly sided with the revolutionists, took refuge in the National Assembly, to escape the fate that awaited them from the half-frantic people. This scene might partially be attributed to the Assembly, to whose principles Napoleon was attached; but the sight of the court-yards and gardens strewn with the dead bodies, shocked him to a degree that could hardly have been expected from one of his stern nature, always accustomed to regard the end, and never to shrink from the means he thought necessary to its accomplishment. Hazlitt has a fine passage on this circumstance:—"Bonaparte was struck with the number of these dead bodies, neither from the smallness of the space, nor from the novelty of the sight, but his imagination was overloaded and oppressed from there being no other interest to carry off and absorb the natural horror of the scene. The dead bodies were many, *because they were there without his knowledge or connivance*: had they served to swell his triumphs, or to furnish new proofs of his power and skill, they would have seemed too few." Admitting the profound truth of this elucidation, it must, nevertheless, be questioned whether the last remark applied to Napoleon at this period, and was not rather anticipatory of an advanced stage of his character and fortunes. He stood at this time a thoughtful spectator only of the terrible events that rolled and burst around him, waiting till they had expended all their fury, and *then* walking over the fragments and ashes of their accomplished course, to the attainment of his own ambitious projects.

Paoli now openly revolted against the French government. He was assisted by the English, and affairs daily grew worse for the French party.



Meantime, Napoleon had returned to Corsica. He had a conference with Paoli in the Convent of Rostino. The arguments of the veteran made no sort of impression upon him, and to avoid the coming storm, he left the Island precipitately, taking with him his whole family. Their property was instantly confiscated by the enraged old man; and their house at Ajaccio, after being pillaged, was used as a barrack by the English troops. The Bonaparte family took refuge at Marseilles.



Banished their country, and stripped of their property, the family of Napoleon had to contend with considerable difficulties; but the Convention granted a certain aid to all the patriots who had suffered in its cause. Napoleon soon began to rise in the army, where his genius only wanted an opportunity to display itself. Most of his biographers have left this important part of his career in considerable obscurity. He appears, according to them, to rise from a captain to a lieutenant-colonel, and then to commandant of artillery, without any assignable cause. Sir Walter Scott gets over the difficulty by stating that the high testimonials given by his masters, at Brienne, obtained his promotion; but the fact is explained at once in the Memoirs of his brother Lucien. "The southern part of France," he says, "and particularly Marseilles, which had endeavoured to resist the revolutionary torrent,

had just been subdued by the pro-consuls of the Convention, among whom was Salicetti, a native of Corsica, who took a strong interest in the welfare of the Bonaparte family. He mentioned Napoleon to Barras; became a pledge for his ardent zeal in the cause of the Republic, and obtained his promotion in the artillery. This was the origin of the fortune of Napoleon, and of his family." His rapid ascent of the grades of authority gives additional proof of his competency in filling them; for, in those days, if a man could not suitably fill his post, he quickly lost it, and occasionally his head at the same time.

Napoleon had not yet joined his regiment, at Avignon, when he was summoned to the army of Italy, by General Dujear, who commanded the artillery. He was employed with success in several delicate commissions, particularly in preventing the interception of convoys of ammunition by the insurgents of Marseilles. It was about this period that he published a short pamphlet, under the title of "The Supper of Beaucaire." Its subject, which was suggested by a conversation at an inn during one of his journeys, was the state of parties in the south, and aimed at shewing the perversity of the disaffected. At this time also, or soon after, he contemplated a marriage with Mademoiselle Desirée Clary, the daughter of a merchant at Marseilles: but his poverty occasioned delay, and the marriage never took place.

Marseilles was shortly afterwards conquered by General Cartaux, but Toulon received the disaffected of that city within her walls, and, in concert with them, gave up the place to the English and Spanish squadrons, which blockaded the harbour. The French government lost no time in commencing vigorous efforts to retake this important place, which contained immense naval stores, several fine establishments, and was besides, at this time, a station for above twenty ships of the line. Generals La Poype and Cartaux, with an army of nearly twelve thousand men, accompanied by Freron and Barras, as Representatives of the People, advanced upon it from different quarters to form the siege; and Napoleon was appointed, by the Committee of Public Safety, to the rank of commandant of the artillery. He joined the besieging army on the 12th of September, 1793.

The commander-in-chief was Cartaux. He had been a painter, but was unfit for a general; and Napoleon urged objections to his impractical measures and erroneous operations. The wife of Cartaux once said, "Do let this young man have his way; he really knows more about it than you: *you* will get the credit." Napoleon found a better association and assistance, for his military designs, in the persons of Gasparin and Duroc, with whom he first became intimate at this siege. Here, also, he first discovered the gallant Junot. During the construction of a battery, he suddenly called for some one who could write: a serjeant



stepped forward: while Napoleon was dictating, a shell struck the embankment, so close as to cover them both with dust. "Well," said the serjeant, proceeding with his writing, "we shall not want for sand." The serjeant was Junot, and the commandant of artillery did not lose sight of his merits.



Napoleon, on arriving at Toulon, found the army occupied in preparations to burn the allied squadrons, and "take Toulon in three days," according to orders from Paris. General Cartaux issued his directions to the commandant of the artillery, to open the fire accordingly; but great was Napoleon's surprise, when, on visiting the batteries, he found the guns planted a quarter of a league from the important passes of Ollioules; at three gun-shots from the English vessels, and two from the shore; while the soldiers were occupied in heating the balls at all the country houses around, forgetting they would cool on their way to the guns. He did not hesitate to expose these absurdities, and the rapid grasp of mind he displayed was not lost upon Gasparin, one of the commissioners of the Convention, who was present.

The plan of attack was now the important point. From the moment he had arrived at Toulon, and examined the ground, Napoleon had made up his mind on this subject; and, while councils of war debated whether to open the fire on the right or the left of the town, and studied the directions for commencing a regular siege, which had been drawn up in Paris by General D'Arçon of the Engineers, he maintained his original opinion. Toulon, he affirmed, was not the point of attack at all.

The promontory of Balagnier and L'Eguillette, which commanded both harbours, was the point. "Toulon," he repeated, "lies *there*." That gained, a fire might be kept up on the combined squadron, which would force it to abandon the town, and thus the garrison would be reduced to a state of blockade. In two days after that position was gained, Toulon would belong to the Republic. After a warm discussion, this plan was at length unanimously adopted. Had it been put in practice when he first suggested it, there would have been little difficulty in its accomplishment; but the English, meantime, had perceived the importance of the place, had landed four thousand men there, and thrown up strong entrenchments, calling it "The Little Gibraltar." A serious attack was necessary to take it, and for this the army prepared.

Cartaux continually throwing impediments in his way, Napoleon entreated of him to write down his own views and plan, that the artillery might clearly understand his orders. The general complied. Napoleon made marginal comments, and instantly sent the papers off to Paris by a courier. The answer was an order for the removal of Cartaux from the command. His place was supplied by Doppet, who had formerly been a physician, and was no better adapted for the post than his predecessor. This Doppet, who was so thoroughly unqualified to devise any efficient plan for conducting the siege, was equally unable to avail himself of the most fortunate accident. It happened that a quarrel ensued between some of Napoleon's artillery-men, or others who were in his trenches, and a party of the Spanish soldiers in Little Gibraltar. The nature of the insult is not recorded; but it must have been very gross and pointed, as the French were so exasperated that they rushed spontaneously to the attack. Other Spaniards joined their comrades; other Frenchmen theirs; and this contest, originating in a private quarrel, became furious. Napoleon, hurrying forth, perceived that an advantage had been gained, and urged Doppet to follow it up, assuring him that a general attack would now be less dangerous than a retreat. Doppet consented: the columns rushed forward; the promontory of Cairo was already reached by the chasseurs, and the grenadiers were making their way through the gorge of the fort, when one of the aides-de-camp of Doppet receiving a shot by his side, the general thought he himself was hit, or else in danger of it, and ordered a retreat to be sounded. Napoleon was slightly wounded on the head. Doppet was shortly deposed, and succeeded by Dugommier, a veteran soldier.

The business of the siege commenced in earnest. Batteries were raised against Little Gibraltar, and another battery of guns and mortars against Fort Malbosquet, nearer the town. This latter had been constructed with great secrecy, and Napoleon had laboured incessantly to have it completed in the most efficient manner, never leaving the works



even at night, but sleeping in his cloak beside the guns. This battery was to be kept perfectly quiet and unseen until the great attack was made upon Little Gibraltar, when its sudden opening would distract the attention of the enemy. But the Representatives of the People went to inspect it, and, learning that it had been finished eight whole days without being once used, ridiculously ordered the cannoniers to open a fire that instant. They obeyed with alacrity, to the exasperation of Napoleon, and the extreme surprise of the English, who sallied out and spiked the guns before the commandant of artillery could reach the spot.

A sharp conflict ensued, in which the English were at first successful, but eventually defeated, and obliged to retire into the town by the following manœuvre :—Napoleon, perceiving a long and rather deep ditch at the back of the mount, overhung with bushes and willow trees, ordered one of the infantry regiments to creep hastily along the bottom of the ditch, and not to discover themselves until close under the enemy. They accomplished this successfully, and were ascending the bank, when a single figure appeared on the top. He was instantly made prisoner, and proved to be the English commander, General O'Hara. The English were disheartened by this strange and sudden loss, and retreated. Some desperate fighting had nevertheless occurred, during which Napoleon received a thrust from a bayonet in his thigh, and was caught in the arms of the gallant Captain Muiron, who carried him out of the fray.

So skilfully was General O'Hara seized and carried off, that the people of Toulon suspected it must have been caused by some treachery on the part of Admiral Hood, in order to make terms with the Republican army. They, therefore, placed their reliance upon the Neapolitans and Spaniards. Meantime, their garrison had frequent reinforcements, and shewed every likelihood of holding out. The public became impatient, and could not understand the delay. The army was cursed and lampooned for inefficiency. Popular societies rang forth denunciations.

Napoleon now considered it absolutely necessary to take Little Gibraltar. Under cover of a plantation of olives, he raised a battery, parallel with the English battery, and at the distance of not much more than one hundred fathoms. The moment the works were unmasked, the English sent a volley that destroyed all before it. The French soldiers refused to man the battery again. Certain destruction seemed to await the attempt. At this critical point, Napoleon called for Junot, and commanded him to write on a placard in large letters, "*Batterie des Hommes sans Peur!*" and erect it above the dreadful spot. All the artillery-men rallied as if inspired. It was terrific on both sides, and lasted from the 14th of December till the night of the 17th, but the English fort still remained unsubdued. Something more was requisite, and Napoleon exhorted Dugommier not to lose a moment.





"BATTERIE DES HOMMES SANS PEUR."

A plan of attack was accordingly arranged, and the tremendous scene of the "Batterie des Hommes sans Peur" was immediately followed by a general assault of the whole French army upon Little Gibraltar. The time chosen was the 18th of December, at midnight. Napoleon ordered several thousand shells to be thrown into the Fort, in order to confuse and pre-occupy the attention of the enemy. The weather was dreadful; the rain falling in torrents. At the moment when all was ready, the Representatives of the People, appalled by the scene, by the sense of coming horrors, and despairing of success, called a council to deliberate whether the attack should take place. Napoleon and Dugommier ridiculed these fears; *they* had deliberated, and were prepared to act. The army was immediately put in motion, the leading column headed by Dugommier.

All the promptitude and secrecy of their approach could not, however, defeat the vigilance of the English skirmishers, who had drawn themselves up in the front of the Fort, and opposed the French with the most determined energy. Dugommier was obliged to give ground instead of advancing, and as he was beaten back he exclaimed, "I am a lost man!" The expression was not meant in a figurative sense: his failure in the enterprise might have led to the scaffold.





At this critical juncture, Napoleon, perceiving the point most open to attack, singled out the officer who, of all others, was best able to make good the attempt. He immediately dispatched his aide-de-camp, Captain Muiron, whose courage and presence of mind he well knew, at the head of a battalion of light infantry, which was strongly supported. They were ordered to ascend by the winding-paths leading to the summit, and surprise the Fort. The perilous ascent, favoured by the darkness, and by his thorough knowledge of the ground, was accomplished by the gallant Muiron without the loss of a man. He reached the summit, and rushing through an embrasure, was received by the pike of an English soldier, and fell dangerously wounded; but his men had poured in close at his heels, and Little Gibraltar was taken. The English and Spanish gunners were all killed at their posts.

The Representatives of the People, with drawn swords in their hands, repaired to the scene of carnage when all was over to load the troops with eulogiums. Nor were they without a right to assume their place among the victors: if not brave in themselves, they were the cause of bravery in other men, as belonging to a government which made all its agents and executives thoroughly aware that no defalcations on the score of success were to be tolerated, or excused by explanations. But the Representatives were not now like the high-minded men originally chosen by the people. In the trying changes and debasing influences which gradually surrounded them, as the noble principles of pure republican freedom were degraded into the gross corruptions of despotic anarchy, the Representatives sank with the sinking principles and the sinking people.

The French took possession of the different batteries by break of day, intending to turn their fire upon the combined fleets, but a short delay occurred, in consequence of Napoleon's perception of some errors in the construction of the platforms, which endangered the gunners. He therefore ordered the guns to be planted on the heights behind the batteries. But the moment Lord Hood perceived that the French had taken possession of these heights, he made signal to weigh anchor and get out of the roads without delay. He then repaired to Toulon, to make it known that the fleet could no longer hold its position, but must put out to sea. It is said that he recommended to the council of war, which met on the instant, to make a desperate effort to retake Little Gibraltar: it was determined, however, that Toulon must surrender as a place no longer tenable, and the garrison received orders to embark immediately. The plan of Napoleon was thus crowned with complete success, and his promises to the Convention fulfilled in every point.

We must not here omit to notice with praise the discernment and decision displayed by Lord Hood. Early in the contest, he had perceived

the importance of Little Gibraltar as a position, and he did not lose a moment in avoiding the disastrous consequences of its loss. The fleet also performed a service to humanity in offering a refuge to such of the unfortunate inhabitants as wished to fly from the vengeance of the Convention. Many thousand families embarked, struck with consternation at this sudden termination of a siege which had lasted four months. The catastrophe, resulting from the capture of a distant Fort, the importance of which they did not perceive, seemed to them as unaccountable as it was dreadful. The batteries had begun to play upon the fleet before it quite cleared the roads, and several English ships were much damaged.

The horrors and confusion of the night which succeeded were lighted by the conflagration of all the property which it was possible for the enemies of the Republic to destroy. Nine French seventy-four gun ships, and four frigates, were burnt, the masts and yards shewing for hours distinctly amidst the flames. This operation was conducted under the orders of Sir Sydney Smith. The fire and smoke from the arsenal resembled a volcano, and two powder-vessels blew up with tremendous explosions. The Republican troops were seen entering at all points, while the last parties of the fugitives had scarcely reached the ships. So many had escaped, that the tribunals, however exasperated at the burning of the vessels, and wanton destruction of property, had little work to do; but between one and two hundred persons were shot according to law, which could not forbear adding its horrible mite to the thousands destroyed by war.

In this, as in every other instance of civil strife, the rage of opposing parties also burst forth in the excitement and fury of the moment. A family of emigrants, named Chabillant, who happened to be driven on the coast by stress of weather at this perilous period, never forgot their obligations to Napoleon in the circumstances of imminent danger in which they were placed. He rescued them with some difficulty from the hands of the mob, and got them out of France in a covered boat. Many years after, they took an opportunity of letting him know that they had carefully preserved the written order by means of which he had enabled them to save their lives.

It has been observed that the Parisians had been excessively impatient at the delay in taking Toulon, and Las Casas relates several interesting particulars as to the manner in which the excitement was manifested. While the siege was in progress, Napoleon received nearly six hundred different plans from debating societies, shewing "exactly" how the thing was to be done. Nothing could more strongly prove the interest taken by the people; and the assistance they thus proffered, however unavailable, redounds to their honour. A demonstration of a more



practical nature also transpired, which was excessively ludicrous, though no doubt well intended. Fifteen handsome coaches arrived one day at the camp, filled with young men from Paris. They demanded an audience of the commander-in-chief, and the orator of the party thus addressed him, with all the style of an ambassador:—"Citizen general! we come from Paris: the patriots are indignant at your inactivity and delay. The soil of the Republic has long been violated; she is enraged to think that the insult still remains unavenged: she asks, 'Why is Toulon not yet retaken? Why is the English fleet not yet destroyed?' In her indignation she has appealed to her brave sons; we have obeyed her summons, and burn with impatience to fulfil her expectation. We are volunteer gunners, from Paris: furnish us with arms, to-morrow we will march upon the enemy." The commander-in-chief stood confounded; but Napoleon whispered him to receive them with courtesy, and he would manage them very shortly. Next day he politely directed them to man a park of artillery on the beach. They expressed surprise at finding no shelter of batteries or epaulments, but there was no alternative. Meantime, an English frigate seeing a great bustle among the guns ashore, saluted them with an interrogative broadside; whereupon some fled at once, and the rest mingled with the regular troops. The whole camp was convulsed with laughter.

The reputation of Napoleon was established from the day of the surrender of Toulon. He was made brigadier-general of artillery, at the recommendation of Dugommier (some say, of Barras), who expressed his opinion and advice in these words:—"Promote this young officer, or he will promote himself." With his new rank, Napoleon was now appointed to the army of Italy, being ordered to inspect the fortification of the coast previous to his departure. This service he carefully performed.









BATTERIE DES SANS CULOTTES.



## CHAPTER III.

ALPS—NAPOLEON'S ARREST—ROBESPIERRE—BOISSY D'ANGLAS—NAPOLEON'S POVERTY—  
VICTORIES OF THE FRENCH—THE SECTIONS—JOSEPHINE—NAPOLEON'S PROMOTION,  
AND MARRIAGE.



THE army of Italy formed that portion of the French force which was commissioned to defend the southern frontier, and repel the King of Sardinia and the Emperor of Austria, both members of the coalition against France and her new principles. The emperor possessed all Lombardy; while the King of Sardinia, as sovereign of Savoy

and Piedmont, held nearly all the fortresses which guard the passes of the mighty chain of mountains that forms the natural boundary of Italy. He was, therefore, said to wear the keys of the Alps at his girdle. The Republic had now assumed the offensive, and its army, under the command of General Dumerbion, was preparing to push forward. Napoleon joined him at Nice; and very shortly originated some plans of proceeding in the campaign, which, being proposed to the Convention, were adopted, and the French, in consequence, succeeded in dislodging the Sardinians from the Col di Tende; thus becoming masters of the range of the higher Alps. The commander-in-chief wrote to the Committee of War:—"I am indebted to the comprehensive talents of General Bonaparte, for the plans which have ensured our victory."

While these events transpired in Italy, the English, being driven from Toulon, had made themselves masters of Corsica, with the coincidence of Paoli, who formally offered the crown of Corsica to his Britannic Majesty. It was graciously accepted; the distinction costing the British nation annually two millions and a half sterling. After the second year, his Majesty was fortunately obliged to surrender his prize by a successful insurrection of the people of Corsica, apparently at the instigation of Napoleon.

Shortly after this, Napoleon was entrusted by the Representatives of the People with a secret mission to Genoa, on matters of diplomatic importance. On his return, he was arrested, suspended from his command, and arraigned before the Committee of Public Safety. The cause assigned was the very journey to Genoa which he had performed by order of the members of the government. He was, nevertheless, considered as one of the "suspected."

While in this perilous predicament, Junot, who had now become an officer, and Captain Sebastiani, formed the project of cutting down the gendarmes who guarded Napoleon, and setting him free, if they found that he was ordered up to the fatal capital. Napoleon made a written defence while in confinement, which is given at length by Bourrienne; and is remarkable for clearness, undaunted energy, and simplicity. This defence, together with a further enquiry into the case, and a sense of the great value of his services, procured his release. He was a fortnight under arrest. Had he been accused three weeks earlier, during the summary proceedings of the Reign of Terror, his career might have ended on the scaffold at the age of five-and-twenty. Even then he would not have died without leaving an influence on the spirit of the time, but with a force and extent how inferior!

A fierce consummation had just startled even the times in which terror had become habitual, and astonished horror had lost its edge, stupified by the incessant shocks of the sound of the scaffold axe. Robespierre was guillotined. Whether he had been a pure patriot in his intentions, however revolting in his means; a mere blood-thirsty monster, a high-minded martyr, or a monomaniac; or a fearful complexity of all these attributes, called up by the dark and yearning spirit of humanity, lashed into demonism by the conflict of wrongs and rights, and the wild assumptions both of ignorance and knowledge; it is not our present purpose to discuss. Whatever he had been, he was now nothing. The chief members of his party had been imprisoned, or condemned to banishment. It is probable that the confusion attendant upon a change of men and measures, was partly the cause of the strange arrest of Napoleon; but there is reason for suspicion that it was mainly brought about by intrigues, either of men jealous of his rising reputation, or of



secret partisans of the Royalists. It is certain that the Royalist party took advantage of the unsettled state of the government, and of a dreadful scarcity of bread which then afflicted the country, to sow disaffection, and confuse the Republic by means of the starving people.

Several insurrections took place in Paris, one of which assumed a formidable and sanguinary character. The populace of the Fauxbourgs, armed with pikes and muskets, burst into the Hall of the Convention during its sitting, and demanded, "Bread!—The constitution of the year '93!—and the release of the imprisoned deputies!" Boissy d'Anglas, who was at this moment in the chair, was obnoxious to the people because he was at the head of the Committee of Supply, which dealt out bread to them much too tardily to satisfy their wants: hence he had acquired the nickname of Boissy Famine. The rioters levelled their pieces at him as they entered; and Ferand, a deputy, rushing forward to protect him, was violently seized, and dragged into the lobbies, where his head was hacked off. The murderers then returned into the hall, carrying the severed head upon a pike, and held it before the president to enforce their demands. But he remained firm and inflexible; and rising, he bowed, as in respect and gratitude, to the ghastly head of Ferand.

Boissy d'Anglas is said to have been a secret Royalist, and only acting a treacherous part in his union with the Republicans. But supposing this to have been the case, neither the mixed motives of faith and treachery in his position, nor the actions which resulted from them, should prevent our perceiving the high feeling and heroism which made him render that acknowledgment to the preserver of his life, at a moment when such acknowledgment might have cost him twenty lives, if he had possessed them.

This insurrection, and others of the same kind, were quelled without further consequences; and the close of the year 1794 witnessed no essential change in the French government.

About this period, or soon after, Napoleon was in Paris, having been removed from the army of Italy, and appointed to that of La Vendée, with the rank of brigadier-general of infantry; but, disliking the service, and considering the change into the infantry from the artillery to be a degradation, he refused to accept the post. Aubry, an old artillery officer, and president of the Military Committee, placed himself in strong opposition to these "pretensions," as he considered them; and, in the heat of discussion, he interrupted an angry remonstrance from Napoleon against the proposed change, by reminding him of his youth; to which Napoleon replied, that "a man soon grows old on the field of battle."





Napoleon was thus obliged to remain unemployed. In this state of inactivity, which was little accordant with his inclinations, he remained in Paris throughout the conclusion of the year 1794, and till the autumn of 1795, waiting in hopes that some other field of action might open to him. It was evident that sinister influences, of the same kind as those which occasioned his arrest, were at work against him; otherwise, in the situation in which France then stood, the genius he had already shewn would have ensured him employment. He was both indignant and disgusted at the treatment he had received, and conceived the intention of quitting the country altogether. He thought the East a fine field for glory, and meditated entering the service of the Grand Seignior; and was so much in earnest in this plan, that he transmitted to the War Office a paper which he had drawn up, in order to enforce upon the government the policy of increasing the military power of Turkey as a check upon Russia, offering his services to organise their artillery. No notice was taken of this proposal. Bourrienne remarks very truly, that had a clerk in the War Office but written upon the memorial, "granted," that little word would probably have changed the fate of Europe. He had, however, been quite in earnest, and worked and planned out the idea with enthusiasm for several weeks. Wherever he might find a field for action, he always anticipated attaining the summit of power. He is reported to have said to a friend, with reference to his eastern project, "Would it not be strange if a Corsican soldier became King of Jerusalem?"

Occasionally, it appears, as if tired with fruitless expectations, he turned his thoughts to private life, and quiet pursuits. Hearing that his brother Joseph had married Mademoiselle Clary, the daughter of a rich merchant at Marseilles, and sister to the lady he had himself so nearly married, he exclaimed, "That Joseph is a lucky rogue!" At another time, he thought of taking a house in the Rue de Marais, and settling there with his uncle Fesch and an old schoolfellow. "With that house over there," he said, "my friends in it, and a cabriolet, I shall be the happiest fellow in the world." But these quiet fancies did not last long. Madame de Bourrienne, who records this, and with whom he appears at this time to have been by no means a favourite, relates two or three anecdotes of him, which shew that he was frequently brooding over the unemployed world of power within him. She speaks of him as silent, reserved, and absent; mentioning these things as signs of "eccentricity," and with the tone of a lady whose offended vanity considers it was not treated with proper politeness, and "all the forms." "He often slipped away from us," she says, in describing their visits to the theatre together; "and when we had supposed he had left the house, we would discover him in the second or third tier, sitting alone in a box, and looking rather sulky." At another time, during the performance of a farce which convulsed the whole house with laughter, she says:—"Bonaparte alone (and it struck me as being *very* extraordinary) was silent, and coldly insensible to the humour which was so irresistibly diverting to every one else!" He passed most of his time in his own lodgings, where he studied



hard ; and, being distressed for money, was glad to avail himself of an engagement to draw maps and topographical plans, procured for him (as we learn from Norvins) by Doulcet de Pontecoulant, one of the Representatives.

The French armies were, at this period, successful everywhere ; and the different powers of Europe were beginning to discover that they had placed themselves in hostile array against a people who were likely, in various ways, to make them sorely suffer for, if not secretly repent, the aggression. The coalition of crowned heads had intended to put down this new state of things with a high sceptre, and to sweep into the very dust of death all those republican innovators ; but when they found how fierce and successful a resistance was offered, they considered themselves grossly insulted and aggrieved. Several of those powers, however, were soon induced to take quite a different view of the matter. The Grand Duke of Tuscany was the first to acknowledge the French Republic as a legal government ; Prussia was forced to enter into a treaty of peace early in the year 1795 ; and Spain followed the example. Pichegru had conquered the whole of Holland, driven out the stadtholder, and deprived the King of England of his continental dominions ; while the civil war, which had so long raged in La Vendée, had been nearly stifled by the vigorous and well-conceived measures of General La Hoche. The leaders of the Revolution are accused, and with justice, of being too prone to imitate the heroes of antiquity, even in some of their least respectable acts ; but on this occasion, La Hoche pursued, with good reason and laudable success, the same kind of warfare which is attributed to Ajax in his madness. He drove away the cattle instead of destroying the people ; and, wiser than the Grecian hero, who killed the captured herds in his rage, he restored them to their former owners, in exchange for their arms.

The few bands of Royalists which still held together, retired into Brittany, where they united themselves with the disaffected of that province, and where their leaders solicited, and obtained, powerful assistance from England. This great maritime ally landed on the coast, at the peninsula of Quiberon, an army of fifteen thousand French, emigrants ; six thousand Republican prisoners, who had enlisted for the purpose of getting back to France ; sixty thousand muskets, and an equipment for an army of forty thousand men. This formidable invasion was seconded by the Royalists already in arms. The invaders were attacked immediately by La Hoche ; the Republicans enrolled in their ranks, deserted ; and though the emigrants, who were mostly officers of the ancient French marine, fought with the most determined bravery, the whole army was utterly routed and destroyed. According to the deadly system pursued between the Republic and the emigrants,



no quarter was given to the vanquished; and that party never recovered the severe loss it sustained on this occasion.

The coalition against France now numbered, among the lesser European powers, Naples, Bavaria, the petty princes of Germany and Italy, and the King of Sardinia; which latter included in his dominions, Piedmont and Savoy. The naval force of England, and the immense military strength of Austria, remained formidable opponents, with whom the French Republic had yet to maintain a strenuous and doubtful contest. Their hostile advances soon compelled France to call into action the genius of the only man who could have paralysed the one, and so long held the other at bay. Events of a serious nature in Paris first brought him out of his retirement.

The National Convention having prepared a new form of government, to be vested in five directors and two elective assemblies, were about to dissolve themselves in the autumn of this year; but, in order to avoid the risk of anarchy and a counter-revolution, and taught by the experience of the Constituent Assembly (which had, fatally for the country, declared its members incapable of being again chosen as Representatives of the People), the Convention decreed the re-election of two-thirds of its members, and limited the nomination of members by the electors, on this occasion, to one-third. Another law submitted these clauses to the acceptance of primary assemblies of the people.

A restriction upon the freedom of election naturally created a ferment among the Parisians. The Royalist party seized this moment of popular discontent to promote their own plans; and, under the mask of a zeal for liberty, they succeeded in making the people their instruments.

Disregarding the opposition of Paris, the Convention pronounced the new constitution, in all its parts, ratified by the majority of the primary assemblies throughout France. This was the signal of open revolt. Out of the forty-eight sections into which the National Guard was divided, five only sided with the Convention: forty-three formed themselves into armed deliberative assemblies; rejected the decrees which restricted the freedom of election; declared their sittings permanent; proceeded to nominate electors for choosing the new members, and began to present a very formidable appearance to the government. The section Lepelletier took the lead.

It now became imperative upon the Convention to adopt vigorous measures, and enforce its authority. It accordingly called in the troops from the camp at Sablons, and delegated its powers to a committee of five, who were charged with the care of the public safety. Their first measure proved an utter failure. On the evening of the 12th of Vendemaire, answering, in the new nomenclature adopted by the French,



to the 3rd of October, General Menou was dispatched, together with three Representatives of the People, and a numerous escort, to dissolve the assembly of the section Lepelletier. Its committee, however, refused to obey; and after about an hour's indecisive conference, General Menou withdrew, leaving the sectionaries triumphant.

Napoleon was at the Theatre Feydeau, close to the spot, when this scene was transpiring; and, hurrying forth, he mingled with the crowd to watch the result. When the troops retired, he instantly went to the gallery of the Convention, to observe what effect would be produced by



the ill success of its deputation. The Representatives who had accompanied Menou, eager to justify themselves, threw all the blame upon him, and he was arrested on a charge of treachery. Each member then began to name some general on whom they could depend, as the fittest to succeed Menou. Those who had been on duty at Toulon, and the members of the Committee of Public Safety, recommended Napoleon; who, having heard all that passed, had already considered and formed

his resolution. His feelings on the occasion may be described in his own words:—"A deputation was sent to offer the command to me. I balanced, however, for some time before I would accept of it. It was a service that I did not like; but when I considered that if the Convention was overturned, *l'étranger* would triumph; that the destruction of that body would seal the slavery of the country, and bring back an incapable and insolent race; those reflections, and destiny, decided that I should accept of it."\*

Napoleon having agreed to serve the Committee of Public Safety, made them immediately understand that his authority must be unimpeded. He boldly declared that the contradictory counsels of the three Representatives of the People had been the chief cause of Menou's failure, which he had personally witnessed. The members could not avoid perceiving the force of what he said; and, as the only means they could adopt in order to dispense with the regular form, they appointed Barras, one of their own body, general-in-chief, and Napoleon second in command, but with the entire management of this affair.

The regular troops amounted to five thousand; and, with a body of fifteen hundred men, called the Patriots of 1789, made the whole force at the command of the Convention. The sections of the National Guard, on the other side, numbered forty thousand men. The park of artillery, consisting of forty pieces of cannon, was five miles from Paris, and slightly guarded. It was one o'clock in the morning when the conference with the committee concluded, and Napoleon received authority to act. The instant he left the committee, he dispatched a major of the Chasseurs with three hundred horse, to bring the artillery to the Tuileries; which he succeeded in accomplishing by five o'clock: this major was Murat. The difference of a few minutes would have made him too late, for he met a party of the section Lepelletier on the same mission immediately after he had taken possession. Upon all the bridges; at all the crossings of the streets; in short, commanding all the avenues leading to the Tuileries, the artillery was placed by Napoleon; who also sent about eight hundred muskets to arm the members of the Convention and their clerks, as a *corps de reserve*. He then calmly awaited the attack.

Meantime the National Guards had taken up their positions, and it was greatly feared that the troops would be seduced by them from their allegiance. Some members of the Convention thought it would be best to offer terms; others, to retreat to St. Cloud; while some proposed laying down their arms, and receiving the people as the Roman senators received the Gauls. Napoleon paid no attention to them:

\* "A Voice from St. Helena," by Barry E. O'Meara, vol. ii. p. 360.





nothing farther was decided. At length, about four in the afternoon, the expected attack was commenced by the National Guard. The engagement lasted a very short time. The artillery swept the streets, and the victory was won by the troops of the Convention, at an expense of life wonderfully small considering the circumstances. Napoleon himself said to O'Meara, that, of the people, not more than seventy or eighty were killed, and between three and four hundred wounded; he having made the troops load with powder only after the two first discharges. With a force of less than seven thousand men opposed to forty thousand, nothing could more strikingly demonstrate the courage of forbearance and the coolness of self-confidence.

The important service which Napoleon had rendered to the Convention was fully acknowledged, and immediately followed by his receiving the rank of Commander-in-chief of the army of the Interior. Menou was delivered over for trial to a council of war; but Napoleon insisted that if he were punished, justice required that the Representatives of the People should be punished also, and this saved him. Only one man, named La Fond, was executed for the insurrection. He was an emigrant, one of the old *garde du corps* of Louis XVI., and had taken a very prominent part in the attack.

The command of Paris devolved upon Napoleon in his quality of General of the Interior, and he had to perform a nice and difficult operation in consequence. The Convention ordered the disaffected sections to be disarmed; and this was done under his management without violence or opposition, though it necessarily attacked all the habits and the rights of the citizens. The scarcity of bread, which was still severely felt, added also to the difficulties of his position. It appears that he exerted himself with great address among the people; mixing continually in their assemblies, and frequently haranguing them when



STRUGGLE OF THE THIRTEENTH VENDEMAIRE.





they threatened to become tumultuous. An anecdote is told upon one of these occasions, illustrative of his tact in availing himself of their sense of the ludicrous. He was interrupted and confronted by a most portly figure of a woman among the crowd, who shouted forth, "Do not listen to these smart officers!—they don't care who else is starved if they themselves can get fat." Napoleon, who was at that time very thin, answered, "Look at me, good woman, and see which of us two is fattest!" This turned the laugh against her, and the mob dispersed.

It was at one of his levees, shortly after these events, that Napoleon made an acquaintance, destined to be one of no small importance to him. The circumstances may be related in his own words:—"A boy of twelve or thirteen years old presented himself to me, and entreated that his



father's sword should be returned. His father had been a general of the Republic, and executed a few days before the death of Robespierre. I was so touched by this affectionate request, that I ordered it to be given to him. This boy was Eugene Beauharnois. On seeing the sword, he burst into tears: I felt so much affected by his conduct, that I noticed and praised him much. A few days afterwards, his mother came to return me a visit of thanks: I was much struck with her appearance, and still more with her *esprit*."

The impression made by Madame de Beauharnois at the first interview rapidly increased into a stronger feeling. Almost every evening was now spent in her company; either at her own house, where all the most brilliant society of Paris were accustomed to meet, or at the apartments occupied by Barras, as one of the Directory in the Luxembourg Palace, in which luxury and splendour were fast taking place of republican simplicity. Of these assemblies, the grace and fascination of manner possessed by Madame de Beauharnois made her one of the greatest attractions; while the commanding station occupied by Napoleon, and his striking talents and power of conversation, no less than his intimacy with her, caused his constant invitation.

The National Guard was now re-modelled, and the new officers were nominated by Napoleon. In the course of the work, he became extremely popular with the whole body of men, who henceforward regarded him with a kind of enthusiasm; a circumstance of no small importance to him in the course of his history; and yet not a little extraordinary, as there were doubtless many among them who had good reason to recollect the quelling of the sections. His power of acquiring an influence over men's minds, was here strongly manifested.



In March, 1796, he married Madame de Beauharnois. His union with this lady, so well known by the name of Josephine, was the result of affection on both sides, and was productive of mutual happiness throughout its duration. She was a few years his senior, but possessed a peculiar charm of manner and attractive gracefulness, added to considerable beauty of person, which never failed to inspire admiration in all who saw her. It is amusing to find that she had to endure many reproaches, and listen to much expostulation from her friends, who considered that she had made a very *poor marriage* in accepting a mere



soldier of fortune. That they could not foresee the splendour of her destiny is certainly no wonder ; but could a prediction have induced their faith, a most palpable and unequivocal one was extant at the time. A negress, who had the reputation of possessing the gift of sorcery and prophecy, had told Josephine when a girl, that she should one day be more than a queen, and yet outlive her dignity. It is a curious and no less interesting example of the attractive power of individual sympathies and tendencies, to find that this romantic circumstance was actually known to Sir Walter Scott long *before* its fulfilment. He was told of it by a lady who was acquainted with Josephine, from whom she herself had heard the story very soon after her marriage with Napoleon. Among the vast multitude of predictions which are made from time to time, it would be very wonderful if some of them did not chance to fall true ; but that our great novelist believed in the prediction before it was proved, we may be permitted to regard as unlikely, though not altogether impossible.



With the successful termination to the revolt of the sections of Paris, the new government of France was established. The executive consisted of a Directory of five persons : Barras, Reubel, Latourneur de la Manche, Reveilliere Lepaux, and Carnot. Tallien and the Abbé Sieyes, though not members, were very influential in all the politics of the period. The



legislature was divided between two assemblies : the Council of Ancients, and the Council of Five Hundred. Both were elective, and the qualifications for a member were the same in every respect in both, except that a member of the former was required to be forty years of age, and either a married man or a widower ; while to be qualified for a member of the latter, it was sufficient to have attained twenty-five years. All measures were to be first proposed in the Council of Five Hundred, and sent up to the Ancients for their ratification before passing into laws.

One of the first acts of the Directory, was to confer the chief command of the army of Italy upon Napoleon. He left Paris three days after his marriage, to join the troops. Scherer, whom he superseded, had not sufficiently improved his advantages, and was, besides, continually writing to the government for supplies of money and horses, neither of which they were able to provide : they therefore sent him his dismissal, and trusted to their new general to supply all deficiencies. The extreme poverty of the treasury may be understood from the fact, that the sum of two thousand louis was all that could be collected to furnish him with means for so important a command.







BONAPARTE, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY OF ITALY.





## CHAPTER IV.

NAPOLEON AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF—STATE OF THE ARMY—PROCLAMATIONS—COLONEL RAMFON—NAPOLEON'S FIRST VICTORY—CAUSSE—KING OF SARDINIA.



ON his way to join the army, Napoleon turned aside from his direct course to visit his mother and family at Marseilles. His letters to Josephine were full of passionate expressions of tenderness and regret at their separation. But after paying this tribute to the affections, his heart was speedily filled with exultation and triumph. For the first time, he was chief in command; and for the first time, the power within him was to direct his actions, free from outward control. These facts are

deduced from observation of his character at this period. From this moment, a total change in his manner, conduct, and language, is to be dated; felt by his intimate friends no less than all who came into contact with him. "Decrès (afterwards minister of marine) has often told me," says Las Casas, "that he was at Toulon when he first heard of Napoleon's appointment to the command of the army of Italy. He had known him well in Paris, and thought himself on terms of perfect familiarity with



him. 'Thus,' said he, 'when we learned that the new general was about to pass through the city, I immediately proposed to all my comrades to introduce them to him, priding myself on my intimacy with him. I hastened to him, full of eagerness and joy; the door of the apartment was thrown open, and I was on the point of rushing towards him with my wonted familiarity; but his attitude, his look, the tone of his voice, suddenly deterred me. There was nothing offensive either in his appearance or manner; but the impression he produced was sufficient to prevent me from ever again attempting to encroach upon the distance that separated us.' " Bourrienne describes having experienced similar sensations: the same influence was exerted upon his officers. "As commander-in-chief of the army of Italy," says General Foy, "he kept, from the first, his lieutenants at the same respectful distance, as he afterwards did the great men of the earth." This conduct was the result of no supercilious hauteur or arrogance, but a necessary policy. He had under his command men already distinguished in war by success and bravery: Augereau, Massena, Serrurier, Joubert, Lannes, Murat, La Harpe, Stengel, and Kilmaine, all served in the Italian campaign under the general of six-and-twenty. Nevertheless, he had already a well-earned reputation, and personal character sufficed for all the rest.

A ludicrous anecdote is related with reference to this stately and repelling coldness of manner which he found it requisite to assume. A rough sailor accosted him as he was walking on the outskirts of the town, and offered him some smuggled goods at a cheap rate. Napoleon turned upon him with a cutting look, surprised and indignant at the fellow's audacity and want of awe at his presence. "Oh!" said the sailor, "I have often seen you in Corsica; and you would have been very glad to have bought some of these things for your sisters."

He reached Nice, the head-quarters of the army, on the 27th of March, 1796. The troops were in a miserable condition: they were wretchedly clothed, ill-fed, the cavalry half-starved, pay in arrears, and they had no means of transporting artillery. In numbers they amounted to thirty-one thousand; Sir Walter Scott reckons between fifty and sixty thousand; and the writer in "The Family Library" follows him. They might have been with equal plausibility computed at one hundred thousand, for that was the full complement of the army of Italy; but, after deducting killed, wounded, and prisoners, the sick in hospitals, and the garrisons in different fortresses, thirty-one thousand only remained under arms. Such is the simple account of a fact which has been subject to much, perhaps involuntary, misrepresentation. To this force, two armies were opposed (one Austrian; the other, Sardinian), amounting together to eighty thousand men, in fine condition, and in their own or a friendly country.



The address of Napoleon to the army, on first reviewing it, will thoroughly explain all its wants, and shew how well he understood the sources of its inherent strength. "Soldiers!" he said, "you are naked and ill-fed: the Republic owes you much, and can give you nothing! The patience and courage you have shewn in the midst of these rocks, are admirable. But this gains you no renown: no glory results from your endurance. I am come to lead you into the most fertile plains in the world! Rich provinces and great cities will be in your power; there you will find honour, glory, and wealth. Soldiers of Italy! will you be wanting in courage or perseverance?" This speech was received with enthusiastic acclamations.

In a subsequent proclamation, he said to the army:—"You have gained battles without cannon; passed rivers without bridges; performed forced marches without shoes."

To understand the effect produced by these proclamations, it is necessary to enter into the nature of the Republican troops. The old army had been scattered by the Revolution. The battalions of the National Guards, who, "in the first three years of the war of liberty," says Foy, "started from the earth to the number of eight hundred thousand, at the cry of the country in danger," formed the nucleus of the new army, which was constantly recruited from among the finest youths of France. No line of demarcation existed between the privates and the officers. Originally, the men elected the officers from among their own body; afterwards, three modes of nomination to commissions



were adopted: seniority, election by the soldiers, and appointment by the government. The young men of the military schools came under the last mode. An army thus composed formed one entire body. If a man behaved with courage, and escaped death, he was sure of promotion. Such soldiers were not mere locomotive machines, working with stolid insensibility to the cause; ignorant of the cause; indifferent to all knowledge of the cause: they did not stand like painted posts, waiting for orders: they had thoughts and feelings of their own, anticipating commands, and thus giving the best direction to effort by "foregone conclusions." Shameful and degrading punishments were unknown amongst them. They endured hardships, and encountered danger and



death, because they were burning for success. "How often," says General Foy, "have we seen our foot soldiers, nearly swallowed up in bogs and morasses, encouraging one another to get out of them by telling each other the motives of the forced march; motives which their leader was interested in keeping secret, and which their sagacity had divined! Guns were heard; the enemy appeared; and all at once fatigue was forgotten. They hurried forward;—they ran!"



This was the kind of army which Napoleon now prepared to put into instant action. His system of tactics will be seen, as we proceed, to have been grounded on the principle that "the commander will be victorious who can assemble the greatest number of forces upon the same point at the same moment, notwithstanding an inferiority of numbers to the enemy when the general force is computed on both sides." He eminently possessed the power of calculation and combination necessary to execute these decisive manœuvres. Precision of plan, rapidity of movement, and thorough knowledge of the men he was leading, were the means by which he expected to overcome superior numbers and formidable obstacles.

His plan of invasion was to penetrate into Italy, at the point of junction between the Alps and Appenines, where the country is most level, keeping as close as possible to the shores of the Mediterranean; and, turning round the southern extremity of the Alps, to traverse the Genoese territory, which remained neutral, by the narrow pass called the Bocchetta.



Beaulieu, the Austrian general, immediately hastened to oppose his approach towards Genoa. He divided his army into three bodies: Colli, who commanded the Sardinians, was stationed at Ceva, on the extreme right; D'Argenteau was ordered to march the Austrian centre upon a mountain called Monte Notte, with two villages of the same name, near which was a strong position called Montelegino, then occupied by the French; and Beaulieu himself, with the left division, moved towards Voltri, a small town ten miles from Genoa. This disposition, otherwise skilful, was faulty because, from the mountainous nature of the country, it precluded any connexion between the separate divisions of his army.

The van of the French army reached Voltri on the 10th of April, 1796, and was forced back upon the main body by the attack of Beaulieu; D'Argenteau advancing on the same day, by the way of Monte Notte, to commence a general engagement. But Colonel Rampon, the French officer who commanded the redoubts at Monte-



legino, stopped his progress with the most determined resistance. With only fifteen hundred men, he continued to defend the redoubts against the very centre of the Austrian army during the whole of the 11th. In a state of high-wrought excitement he made his men swear either to defend their post, or die there. He continued to hold out till evening came on; and D'Argenteau, being thus baffled, was obliged to withdraw his forces, intending to renew the attack in the morning.

But morning brought him different work to do: he found himself surrounded with enemies. The van of the French army, which had retreated before Beaulieu, having joined La Harpe's division, was now established behind the redoubts: Augereau and Massena, advancing by different passes, were on the flank and rear of his army. He was obliged to extricate himself by a disastrous retreat, leaving his colours and cannon, a thousand slain, and two thousand prisoners.

This was the battle of Monte Notte, the first of Napoleon's victories; in which, as on so many other occasions, he displayed consummate skill, and mathematical certainty of combination. By suddenly accumulating his force on the Austrian centre, he had destroyed it; while Colli on the right, and Beaulieu on the left, never knew of the action till it was lost. This victory enabled the French to advance to Cairo, and placed them on that side of the Alps which slopes towards Lombardy.

Beaulieu and Colli now attempted to unite their forces: the former retreated to Dego, in the valley of the river Bormida; the latter occupied Millesimo, a small town about nine miles from Dego; having between them a strong position, occupied by a brigade, on the heights of Biastro. Here Beaulieu hoped to maintain his ground till the arrival of supplies from Lombardy; but his antagonist had no intention of allowing him any such respite.

On the 13th, the day following the battle of Monte Notte, a desperate attack was made upon Colli, at Millesimo, by a division of the French, under Augereau. The outposts were forced, and a gorge, by which they were defended, was taken. Thus, two thousand men, under the Austrian general Provera, who occupied a detached eminence, were separated from the rest of the army. Provera took refuge in a ruined castle, which he defended with great bravery, hoping to receive assistance from Colli; but the next day Colli was entirely defeated by Napoleon, and obliged to retreat towards Ceva. Provera imitated the gallant example of Colonel Rampon in his defence, but not with the same success. He was compelled to surrender at discretion.

At the same time that Napoleon gave battle to Colli, the generals Massena and La Harpe advanced upon Dego, where Beaulieu was entrenched. Massena seized the heights of Biastro; while La Harpe, crossing the Bormida, where the stream came up to the soldiers' middle,



attacked the village of Dego in front and flank. After an obstinate resistance, Beaulieu was forced to retreat towards Acqui. The next morning Dego was wrested from the conquerors by a fresh party of Austrians, who, coming up to join Beaulieu, found to their surprise the French in possession; and by a sudden attack, drove them out. Napoleon hastily marched to the place. The Austrians stood two attacks; but at the third, Lanusse rushed forwards, holding his plumed hat on the point of his sword, and the place was retaken. For this piece of gallantry, which was performed in sight of the general-in-chief, he immediately received the rank of brigadier-general. Here also, Lannes first attracted the notice of Napoleon, and was promoted from lieutenant-colonel to colonel. The triumph, however, was purchased with the life of the brave General Causse. He was carried out of the mêlée, mortally wounded. Napoleon passed near him as he lay. "Is Dego retaken?" ejaculated the dying officer. "It is ours," replied Napoleon. "Then long live the Republic!" cried Causse; "I die contented."

These victories of Millesimo and Dego produced the most important results. They opened to the French the two great roads into Piedmont and Lombardy; cost the enemy five or six thousand men, thirty pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of baggage; and entirely divided the Austrians and Sardinians, not only in position but in motive; the former now directing their efforts to prevent the French from entering the Milanese territory; while the latter strove to protect Turin, the capital of Sardinia. This division of action Napoleon had foreseen. Leaving a sufficient force to keep the Austrians in check, he advanced towards Colli, who abandoned Ceva, and retreated behind the Tanaro.

The victorious army now arriving at the heights of Monte-Zemolo, beheld the fertile plains of Piedmont, watered by the Po, the Tanaro, and a multitude of other rivers; while in the distant horizon, the gigantic barriers of rock and mountain, crowned with glittering ice and snow, bounded, as if to protect from possible approach, the rich prize they had reached.

The army of Colli was overtaken at Mondovi on the 22nd, and put to flight after a severe action, in which, among others, the French general Stengel, a brave and excellent officer, was killed; and the cavalry would have been overpowered but for the desperate valour of Murat. The Sardinians lost the best of their men, their cannon, baggage, ten stand of colours, and fifteen hundred prisoners, among whom were three generals. Napoleon following up his advantage, proceeded to Cherasco, within ten leagues of Turin, which could no longer be defended, and towards which the shattered remnants of the Sardinian army were flying for shelter.

The King of Sardinia had no other means of preserving his capital, or indeed his existence on the continent, but through submission to the





DEATH OF GENERAL CAUSSE.



victor. He requested an armistice, which was granted on condition of his giving up Coni and Tortona, his two strongest fortresses, into the hands of the French, and thus acknowledging that he surrendered at discretion. Murat was sent to Paris, bearing the news of this capitulation, and twenty-one stand of colours. His arrival caused great joy in the capital. The legislature had decreed five times in the course of a month, that the army of Italy deserved well of its country. Commissioners were sent to the Directory, to arrange the terms of peace.

The treaty required that five more of the fortresses should be surrendered; that the road from France to Italy should be at all times open to the French armies; that the king should break off all connexion and alliance with the combined powers at war with France; and become bound not to entertain at his court, nor in his service, any French emigrants. The last condition was peculiarly humiliating, as he was father-in-law to Monsieur and the Comte D'Artois (both since kings of France under the titles of Louis XVIII. and Charles X.), and no exception was made in their favour. To these conditions, he was forced to agree. Thus, was entirely removed from the coalition, the sovereign at whose court it was planned; and who, though a second-rate power in Europe, derived importance from the position of his dominions, and from being the descendant of a long line of kings, now humbled before the genius of a Republican general. He did not long survive these events; the writers of the loyalist party remarking that "this unfortunate prince died of a broken heart," as an indirect reproach to his cruel conqueror; the writers of the Republican party treating the question as a mere matter of war and state affairs.

These advantages were secured to France in the short period of one fortnight. To effect the rapid movements required for such results, everything was sacrificed that came in the way, not only on this occasion, but every other. Baggage, stragglers, the wounded, the artillery, all were left behind, rather than the column should fail to reach the destined place at the destined time. Napoleon made no allowance for accidents or impediments. Things till now reckoned essential to an army, were dispensed with; and, for the first time, troops were seen to take the field without tents, camp equipage, magazines of provisions, and military hospitals. Such a system aggravated dreadfully the horrors of war. The soldiers were, necessarily, marauders, and committed terrible excesses at this first stage of the campaign; but every effort was made, and with much success, to prevent this evil after conquest had put the means of regular supply within the power of the commander-in-chief. The hardships suffered by the army itself were, however, inseparable from this kind of warfare. "The constant movements of the armies," says General Foy, "and the uncertainty of the



lines of operation, did not always admit of the establishment of regular hospitals, and incessantly compromised reliefs of nature. The wounded were frequently left behind for want of the means of conveyance. Whether victors or vanquished, we lost four times as many men by the disorders inseparable from our system of war, as by the fire or the sword of the enemy." To this admission, which, like all these horrible events of war, causes humanity to shudder at every step, and nature to revolt at every cry of victory, General Foy adds the further truth which is the peculiarity of the case :—"The army, nevertheless, adored its fortunate general ; and it still doated on him, even when undeceived respecting his providence for it. To be able to solve this enigma, it was requisite to have known Napoleon, the life of camps and of glory ; and, above all, one must have a French head and heart."

The commanding influence of his mind, his personal character, and constant presence, wrought upon the spirits of his men. He was always just to merit ; every one of his dispatches to the Directory relates their deeds, and urges the promotion of his brethren-in-arms. With the sufferings of the army, he never failed to shew an active sympathy, when it did not tend to the compromise of his plans. Everything was sacrificed to the design he intended to accomplish ; but when this was not endangered, he has been known to spend hours on the field after a battle, in order to see that the wounded received due attention. He visited the hospitals in person, and made his officers, after his example, take the utmost interest in this duty. His hand was applied to the wounds ; his voice cheered the sick. All who recovered could relate individual acts of kindness experienced from him by themselves or their comrades ; and the dead are silent.

It was at this period that a medal of Napoleon was struck at Paris, as the conqueror of Monte Notte. The face is extremely thin, with long and straight hair. On the reverse, a figure of Victory is represented flying over the Alps, bearing a palm branch, a wreath of laurel, and a drawn sword. This was the first of the splendid series designed by Denon, to record the victories and honours of Napoleon.

After accomplishing so much, a general of less enterprise might have thought it right to rest awhile, and wait for reinforcements before attempting further conquest ; but Napoleon determined to advance without delay, giving Tuscany, Venice, and the other Italian states, no time to take up a hostile attitude, and seizing on the Milanese before the Austrians had time to send another army to repair the disasters of Beaulieu. The next movement would be upon Rome, to chastise the Pope, with whom the French government had a quarrel, for having quietly permitted the assassination of their envoy Basseville, three years before, in a popular tumult.

The French army, to which recruits were now flocking from every hospital and dépôt within reach, was ordered to prepare for instant motion; and a proclamation was accordingly issued from Cherasco:—  
 “Soldiers! you have in fifteen days gained six victories; taken twenty-one stand of colours, fifty-five pieces of cannon, and several fortresses; and overrun the richest part of Piedmont. You have made fifteen thousand prisoners, and killed or wounded upwards of ten thousand men. Hitherto you have been fighting for barren rocks, made memorable by your valour, though useless to your country; but your exploits now equal those of the armies of Holland and the Rhine. You were utterly destitute, and you have supplied all your wants. You have passed rivers without bridges, performed forced marches without shoes, and bivouacked without strong liquors, and often without bread. None but Republican phalanxes, the soldiers of liberty, could have endured what you have. Thanks to you, soldiers! for your perseverance. Your grateful country owes its safety to you. But, soldiers! you have yet done nothing, for there still remains much to do. Neither Turin nor Milan is yours: the ashes of the conquerors of Tarquin are still trodden under foot by the assassins of Basseville.”

Sir Walter Scott humorously observes upon the classical allusions in Napoleon's proclamations, that the French soldiers were probably pleased “with being supposed to understand them;” considering them “as soldier-like words, and words of exceeding good command.” This we think very likely; but the writer's adverse politics makes him totally misunderstand the spirit of the French army, when he undervalues, and rather amuses himself at, the idea of the effect of these energetic proclamations, to which the soldiers listened with eager enthusiasm, and every word of which was engraven upon their memories. Without intending, Sir Walter certainly pays the minds of the soldiers of his own country a very bad compliment in the comparison which he suggests, and the preference he appears to give to mere bodily obedience.

The character of the young general who had thus, within the space of a single month, thrown open the gates of Italy before the advance of the Republican army, apparently changing the very form and spirit of the destiny of both, was at this time regarded by all Europe with as much admiration as his brilliant talents. The concluding portion of the foregoing proclamation will best explain the state of Napoleon's mind and principles at this period.

“Friends! I promise you the conquest of all Italy. But there is one condition which you must swear to fulfil: it is, that you respect the people whom you come to set free; that you forbear those frightful pillages to which some depraved men are excited by our enemies. Without this forbearance you will not be considered the liberators of an

enslaved people; you will be their scourge; you will not be an honour to the French nation;—they will disown you. Your victories, your courage, your success, the blood of your brothers slain in the field—all will be lost,—even honour and glory. As to myself and the other generals who possess your esteem, we should blush to command an army without discipline, without curb, who know no law but force. But, invested with the national authorities, strong in justice and in law, I can make that small portion of heartless and cowardly men respect the laws of humanity and honour, which they thus trample under foot. I will not suffer brigands to soil your laurels: the robbers shall be shot without mercy: some have been shot already. It has given me satisfaction to see the manner in which the true soldiers of the Republic have executed such orders. People of Italy! the French are the friends of all nations. Range yourselves with confidence beneath our colours. Your property, your religion, and your customs, shall be sacredly respected."

To this noble and elevated exhortation it is only just to add, that Napoleon did not *find out* the extent to which this frightful system of pillage was carried, until his army was in a condition to do without it. To put a stop to it with a strong hand the moment he considered it not necessary, and to instil high and humane principles in place of depravity, was something, nevertheless.







## CHAPTER V.

JOSEPHINE—LA HARPE—WORKS OF ART—BRIDGE OF LODI—NAPOLEON'S ENTRY INTO MILAN—INSURRECTION OF PAVIA—KELLERMANN—THE DIRECTORY.



WHILE the army of Italy followed with enthusiasm its youthful and victorious leader, their countrymen at home celebrated their successes with joyful acclamations and constant fêtes. Upon these occasions, Josephine, her daughter Mademoiselle Beauharnois (or, Beauharnais, as the name is frequently spelled), and Madame Tallien, shone conspicuous among the beauties of the time; their high position and influential relationships contributing to render them objects of general attraction and courtly interest.

The appearance of the above ladies at a splendid ball given in the Hôtel Thélusson, has been minutely described by one who was present. Nothing could exceed the elegant splendour of Madame Tallien, or the refined grace of Madame Bonaparte. By the side of the latter stood her daughter, whose deep blue eyes looked out from a profusion of silky tresses; yet appearing the younger sister, rather than the child, of Josephine. The sweetness, the intellectual beauty, the

grace and fascination of manner possessed by Madame Bonaparte, have already been mentioned. Her dress upon the present occasion has been described, not in detail, but by what one may suppose to be a comprehensive Parisian climax; viz., that "her elegant attire was the object of the attention and envy of every woman in the room."\* In all the most brilliant societies, Madame Bonaparte and Madame Tallien were the same objects of admiration. Our reason for mentioning these apparently immaterial circumstances, will be seen hereafter. We now return to the army of Italy.

Piedmont being lost, the sole object of Beaulieu was now to protect Lombardy by covering Milan, and preventing the French, if possible, from effecting the passage of the great and rapid river Po. By a series of successful feints, Napoleon so effectually deceived the old general as to the point at which he intended to make this difficult and dangerous attempt, that while the Austrians lay in wait for him at Valenza, he had marched fifty miles with amazing celerity, and carried the whole of his troops across at Placenza in the common ferry boats without the loss of a man. Beaulieu, on hearing the unexpected intelligence, advanced rapidly in hopes of forcing him to a battle under the disadvantage of having a broad river in his rear; but Napoleon, who was equally aware of the danger of such a position, met him half-way, at Fombio; where, after a resolute discharge of musquetry from the steeples and houses, the Austrians were defeated with a heavy loss, and compelled to retreat across the Adda, leaving all their cannon behind.

A detached body of the imperial troops coming up after the battle, were also repulsed, but not before having been the occasion of the tragical end of General La Harpe. He had ridden out to reconnoitre on the alarm of a fresh attack, and returning with his attendants, was mistaken by his own men for an officer of the enemy, and shot dead on the spot.

It was after the successful movements just related, that Napoleon had some talk at a bivouac with an old Hungarian officer among the prisoners, who did not know him, and who expressed his utter disapprobation of the "irregularity" of the proceedings of the French commander. "The French," said he, "have got a young general who knows nothing of the regular rules of war. He is sometimes on our front, sometimes on the flank, sometimes on the rear. There is no supporting such a gross violation of rules."

On entering the states of Parma, envoys were sent to Napoleon by the duke, suing for peace and protection. This was granted, on condition that the duke paid two millions of livres, and furnished the army

\* *Mémoires de la Duchesse d'Abrantes.*

with sixteen hundred horses, and a quantity of hay and wheat. A novel kind of contribution was also exacted: twenty works of art, to be chosen by French commissioners, and sent to the museum at Paris, were demanded. The duke was forced to submit to these terms. The sole resistance he offered was on the subject of the famous *St. Jerome* of Correggio, which was among the pictures chosen by the commissioners. He offered eighty thousand pounds to be allowed to keep it; and the army-agents were earnest with Napoleon to accept the money. To their astonishment, he refused; remarking, that the money would soon be spent, but the possession of the masterpiece would remain a proud distinction to Paris, and an inspiration to art in France.

The Duke of Modena shortly afterwards obtained the clemency of the conqueror on similar terms. He gave money, horses, and provisions, and a contribution of works of art. Napoleon's reason for thus seizing these fine productions, which were the pure growth of the genius of the soil, in order to transport them to his own country, and there form a central school of art, was an enlarged and patriotic design; but, on the other hand (even if justified in the seizure by their being the private property of the hostile petty tyrants), it surely was a one-sided policy, because the people of Italy were certain to be provoked and grieved at the loss, and thus rendered inimical to the Republic, and the principles it was so anxious to disseminate.

To oppose the passage of the Adda now became the endeavour of Beaulieu. For this purpose, he stationed the main division of his army at Lodi; through the ancient buildings, and between the old Gothic walls of which town, the river flows. It is crossed by a narrow wooden bridge five hundred feet in length. Napoleon coming up on the 10th of May, easily drove the rear-guard of the Austrian army before him into the town, but found his further progress threatened by the tremendous fire of thirty pieces of cannon, stationed at the opposite end of the bridge, so as to sweep it most completely. The whole body of the enemy's infantry, drawn up in a dense line, supported this appalling disposition of the artillery.

An answering battery was instantly constructed on the French side, Napoleon exposing himself in the thickest of the fire to point two of the guns with his own hands. This he effected in such a manner as to prevent the possibility of any approach on the part of the enemy to undermine or blow up the bridge. Observing, meanwhile, that Beaulieu had removed his infantry to a considerable distance backwards, to keep them out of the range of the French battery, he instantly detached his cavalry, with orders to gallop out of sight, and then ford the river, and coming suddenly upon the enemy, attack them in flank.

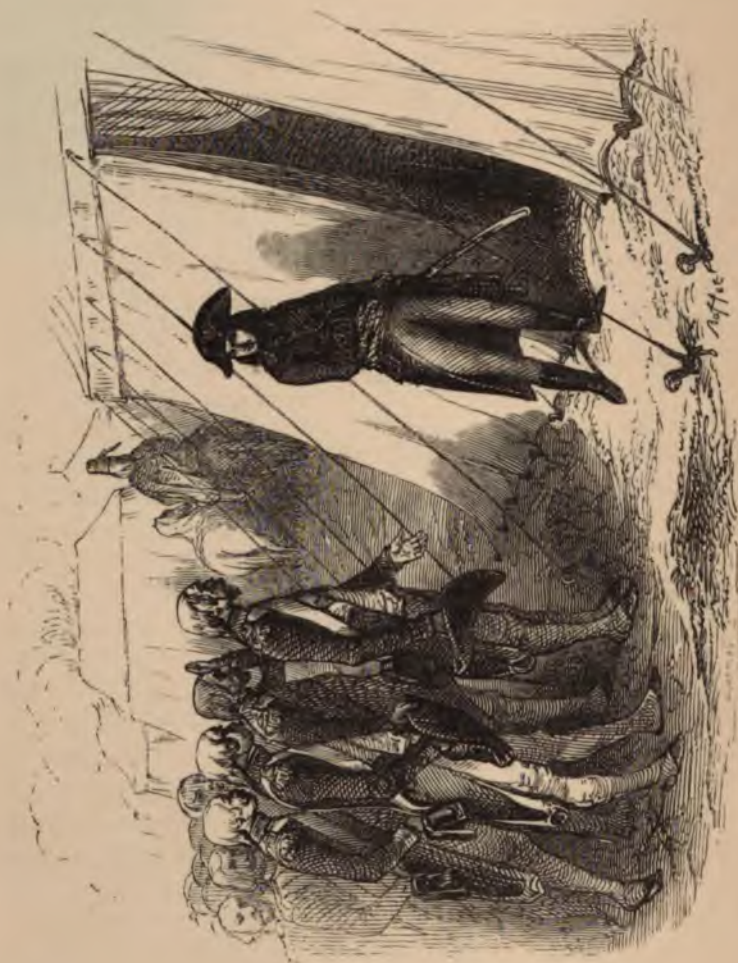


He now drew up a body of three thousand grenadiers in close column, under the shelter of the houses, and bade them prepare for the desperate attempt of forcing a passage across the narrow bridge, in the face of the enemy's thickly-planted artillery.

The cavalry of Napoleon had a difficult task to perform in passing the river, and he waited with anxiety for their appearance on the opposite bank. But a sudden movement in the ranks of the enemy shewed him that his cavalry had arrived and charged, and he instantly gave the word. The head of the column of grenadiers wheeled to the left, and was at once upon the bridge. The whole body rushed forward with impetuosity, shouting, "Vive la Republique!" A hundred bodies rolled dead, and the advancing column faltered under the redoubled roar of the guns, and the tempest of the grape shot. At this critical moment, Lannes, Napoleon, Berthier, and L'Allemand, hurried to the front, and dashing onwards, were followed by the whole column in the very mouth of the artillery. They gained the opposite side: Lannes reached the guns first, and Napoleon second. The artillerymen were killed; their guns seized; and the Austrian infantry, which had been removed too far back, not having time to come up to support the artillery, the whole army was put to flight.

The exposure of his person under extraordinary circumstances, and when others who had seen many a fearful action were for the moment paralysed, was of two-fold importance; inasmuch as it almost always ensured the success of the object immediately in view, while it also gave a strong incentive to valour in the feelings of his soldiers for future enterprises of similar hazard. We should likewise remember that Napoleon entertained a theory of fatalism, or an opinion that 'every bullet is marked;' and this, when originated by suitable nerves, enables such men to perform deeds which lead a few of them to conquest,—the vast majority to death. The foregoing victory at Lodi had, however, a great influence on Napoleon's mind, who subsequently declared that neither his success in quelling the sections, nor his victory at Monte Notte, made him regard himself as anything superior; but that after Lodi, for the first time, the idea dawned upon him that he should one day be "a *decisive* actor" (the expression is peculiarly characteristic) on the stage of the political world. It is not to be inferred that he attached any undue importance to the mere act of leading his men in this perilous attempt, but that the consequences of the victory, and the influence he found he possessed over the minds of his soldiers, led him to the idea of more extensive conquests in future, and more comprehensive power. Napoleon, with all his promptitude in emergencies, was not a man who trusted to "expedients;" he always endeavoured to avoid compulsory positions, and rather preferred to take action, even desperately, in advance.





HIS SOLDIERS PROCLAIM HIM "CORPORAL."



This "terrible passage" of the bridge of Lodi, as Napoleon has himself styled it, was effected with such extreme rapidity, that notwithstanding the heavy fire of the enemy, it cost the French only two hundred men. It is justly styled one of the most daring achievements on record. Upon this occasion, the soldiers conferred upon him the honorary nickname of "the corporal;" so flattered, encouraged, and delighted were they at his thus fighting in the ranks, and placing himself foremost upon so perilous an occasion.

The consequences of the victory were most important to the French. Beaulieu, indeed, escaped, and took refuge under the walls of Mantua, after a long pursuit and heavy loss; but Cremona was taken; Pizzighitone, with a garrison of five hundred men, surrendered; and, above all, Milan, the ancient and opulent capital of Lombardy, lay open and defenceless before them.

During the progress of these battles, the archduke Ferdinand, who governed Milan under the emperor, had betaken himself to the aids his religion offered in this extremity. He had unweariedly invoked all the saints, made endless processions, exposed the holiest relics, performed the most imposing rites, and undergone the most select penances; but he was shocked to find it all in vain. The passage of the Bridge of Lodi, and the retreat of Beaulieu to Mantua, admitted of only one answering action on his part. He accordingly fled with his duchess from Milan, leaving a moderate force in the citadel, and accompanied only by a small retinue. Their carriages passed slowly through the streets, impeded by a vast crowd which thronged to see their departure. The ducal pair were seen to shed tears, but the people observed a profound silence.

The departing train had scarcely disappeared, before all Milan gladly prepared for the reception of the victors. The friends of Republicanism first, and then, every citizen, assumed the tri-coloured cockade. The imperial arms were removed from the palace; the nobles laid aside their armorial bearings, their servants' liveries, and all other badges of aristocracy. A deputation of the principal inhabitants repaired to Lodi, with offers of full submission, and entreaties for clemency.

On the 14th of May, Napoleon made his public entry into Milan under a triumphal arch, amidst an immense concourse of the population, and between ranks of the National Guard of the city clothed in the three colours, green, red, and white. He took up his residence in the palace; and the same evening gave a splendid entertainment, while the tree of liberty was erected with great pomp in the principal square.

Notwithstanding these demonstrations of joy and good-will on both sides, Milan was put under a heavy contribution for the support of the army. In this instance, as in some others, Napoleon could not avoid

oppression, and well knew the disadvantageous position in which he was thereby placed. His power of remodelling the Italian states was materially thwarted by the necessity of maintaining his troops at their expense. "You cannot," as he himself subsequently remarked, "at the same moment strip a people of their substance, and persuade them while doing so that you are their friend and benefactor."

A formidable proof of the feeling of the Italians was immediately afforded. While Napoleon, who only rested six days at Milan, was preparing to march forward upon Beaulieu, the city of Pavia, containing a population of thirty thousand, and all the provinces around, rose in open insurrection. The populace, lashed into fury by the priests, who incited them from every pulpit to take vengeance upon the Republican soldiers, flew to arms. The citadel, possessed by three hundred French





soldiers, was surprised,—taken,—and the walls of the city were manned by peasants. The tocsin sounded in every village, and the most imminent danger threatened the French army.

Napoleon hastened to quell the insurgents before their spirit had time to spread; having first sent the Archbishop of Milan to appease them, but without effect. Selecting, therefore, fifteen hundred men and six field-pieces, Napoleon marched rapidly upon Pavia, spreading terror and desolation as he went. The village of Binasco was taken, pillaged, and burnt, and the inhabitants massacred without mercy. The gates of Pavia were blown to pieces by his cannon; the peasants were conquered, pursued, and slaughtered; the city pillaged; the leaders of the revolt all shot. By these dreadful measures the country was quieted. As a further precaution, however, several of the inhabitants were seized, and sent as hostages into France. The French garrison, now liberated, were severely reprimanded. "Cowards!" said Napoleon to them, "I entrusted you with a post essential to the safety of the whole army, and you have abandoned it to a mob of wretched peasants without offering the least resistance." Their captain was delivered over to a council of war, and shot.

During these events, a slight degree of uncertainty hung over the future progress of the campaign, in consequence of the timid policy of the Directory at Paris. Taking a sudden alarm at the rapid success and rising popularity of their young general, they sent him orders to share his command with Kellermann; who was to proceed to Italy forthwith, and press the siege of Mantua, while Napoleon with his division should march onwards to Rome and Naples. His answer to an order which, by dividing the army, as well as the spirit of its movements, would cause ruin, was an immediate resignation of his command. Upon this, the Directory became sensible of their error; reinstated him with full and undivided authority, and never afterwards attempted to interfere with his proceedings.

Without further delay, the army now advanced upon Beaulieu's position. The Mincio was passed at the bridge of Borghetto, though the Austrians had succeeded in demolishing one of the arches. The breach was temporarily repaired by the French soldiers under a heavy fire from the enemy; and Beaulieu was forced to retreat behind the line of the Adige.

Napoleon now established his head quarters at Valeggio, the position occupied by Beaulieu before the action, and a strange reverse of fortune had nearly happened in consequence. Massena's division, destined to protect the town, had not yet passed the bridge, but remained behind, employed in cooking their dinner: the rest of the army were in pursuit of the Austrians. A small retinue only remained in Valeggio with the



commander-in-chief. During this state of fancied security, a division of the Austrian army, which had not been engaged at Borghetto, and was ignorant of the defeat, suddenly marched into the place. Napoleon would inevitably have been made prisoner, had not some of his escort hastily barricaded the gates of the house in which he had taken up his quarters, and defended it with the most obstinate courage, while he escaped by the garden, and, mounting his horse, galloped towards Masséna's division, which he reached in safety. The party whom he left in such peril were quickly rescued by the advance of their comrades, and the Austrians were put to flight.

This narrow escape was the cause of the formation of the body of men called "Guides;" whose duty it was to remain always near the person of the commander-in-chief, and who were only brought into action when important movements or desperate emergencies required the utmost efforts. They were placed under the command of Bessières.





## CHAPTER VI.

MANTUA—VENICE—INSURRECTIONS—NAPLES—LEGHORN—CITADEL OF MILAN—WURMSER—  
BATTLES OF SALO, LONATO, CASTIGLIONE—JUNOT—NAPOLEON'S DANGER—FLIGHT OF  
WURMSER—THIRD BLOCKADE OF MANTUA.



AUSTRIA had now lost all her Italian possessions except the citadel of Milan, and the strong fortress of Mantua. The natural position of Mantua renders it nearly impregnable; it is scarcely to be reduced except by famine. The city and fortress are situated on an island called the Seraglio, in the midst of three lakes formed by the River Mincio, and communicate with the mainland only by five causeways. The garrison amounted to between twelve and fourteen thousand men. It was

a matter of high importance that Napoleon should reduce this place of strength quickly, for a large army under Field-Marshal Wurmser, one of the most able and experienced of the Austrian generals, was about to enter Italy. But to carry such a position by a *coup de main*, was impracticable. Napoleon accordingly disposed his forces to form a regular siege.

The occupation of Verona was a necessary step, and by this the neutrality of Venice was violated: it was done, however, without scruple.

"You are too weak," Napoleon said to the Venetian envoy Fescarelli, "to pretend to enforce neutrality with a few hundred Slavonians, on two such nations as France and Austria. The Austrians have not respected your territory where it suited their purpose; and I must, in requital, occupy such part as falls within the line of the Adige."

It was by no means the intention of Napoleon to quarrel with the Venetians *yet*: he had work enough upon his hands already. But it was very convenient to maintain his army at their expense, and it was necessary for him to occupy Verona. He therefore assumed just so much of the tone of haughty displeasure as made them anxious to propitiate him, and ready to accede to all his demands; while he carefully avoided driving them to hostilities. The two senators who carried on the negotiations with him, wrote to their government, "This man will one day have great influence in his country." These subtle Italians and "old" diplomatists, who well knew that they deserved no real trust, perfectly understood, and much admired, his tact and management.

These preliminaries being accomplished, the chief attention of Napoleon was fixed upon the siege of Mantua. His troops rapidly seized four out of the five causeways by which the communication of the Seraglio is kept up with the mainland; the fifth was defended by a strong citadel called La Favorita. The possession of the other four enabled the French commander, with only eight thousand men, to keep the Austrian garrison, amounting to fourteen thousand, in check.

Notwithstanding this success and all its previous triumphs, the situation of the French army was at this time very critical. The whole train of artillery at its command was employed in the attack upon the citadel of Milan, which still held out; and though there was urgent necessity for despatch, the siege of Mantua was by compulsion reduced to a blockade.

Meantime the intrigues of Genoa, Venice, and Rome (all of which regarded the French Republic with smothered enmity), incited the late imperial fiefs to continual revolts. Detached bodies of the French were attacked at every opportunity; a hundred and fifty soldiers were suddenly massacred in Arquata, where they were quietly garrisoned. The Pope only waited the arrival of six thousand English, whom he expected to land at Leghorn, to declare himself openly. Above all, Wurmser, with his army, was approaching by the Tyrol, to form a junction with the remains of Beaulieu's forces, which had taken refuge there, under command of Melas, Beaulieu having been superseded in disgrace. As soon as he should arrive, the Austrian force would amount to seventy thousand men, including the garrison of Mantua. The French army now numbered forty thousand men, ardent from recent conquests, it is true, and feeling unbounded reliance in their commander; yet suddenly



placed, by all the foregoing circumstances, in a position of great danger, and apparently insurmountable difficulty.

At this very moment, the King of Naples, alarmed for the safety of his states, deserted the coalition, and solicited an armistice, with the view to a definitive peace. It was granted; and this proved an important event, as it secured the inaction of his army, and also of his fleet, which had hitherto co-operated with the English. The Neapolitan auxiliaries immediately left the army of Beaulieu, and returned to their own country.

The imperial fiefs were quieted by a detachment of twelve hundred men under Lannes; who was everywhere successful, and took the most dreadful vengeance upon the insurgents that military execution can inflict. Tranquillity was enforced by terror. Murat was dispatched to Genoa with a letter of menace, which he read himself with a loud voice in the senate, and which produced immediate concessions and hollow promises.

Augereau had passed the Po at Borgo-Forte, and occupied Bologna and Ferrara, the territories of which belonged to the Holy See. Bologna gladly threw off the Papal yoke, established a national guard, and declared itself a free city under the protection of France. Reggio and Modena imitated its example. The Pope, now in extreme alarm, sent to beg an armistice: to this Napoleon acceded, on the condition of receiving, on the part of the French government, a million sterling, and a hundred works of art.

At the entry of the French into Bologna, four hundred of the Papal troops were made prisoners, with a cardinal who acted as their officer. This latter was dismissed on his parole; but when summoned afterwards to the French camp, he declined to obey the mandate, on the plea that the Pope had absolved him from his word of honour. This excited no small merriment among the officers.

Napoleon now seized Leghorn, confiscated the English goods, and destroyed the English factory. As this port belonged to Tuscany, he thereby violated the neutrality of the Grand Duke; but he made no casuistic apologies. "The French flag," he said, "has been insulted in Leghorn; you are not strong enough to enforce respect to it: the Directory has commanded me to occupy the place."

The opportunity had now arrived for depriving the English of Corsica, which is situated only twenty leagues from the coast of Tuscany. Napoleon collected all the Corsican refugees, united them in Leghorn, and sent over a party with arms and ammunition. The Corsicans, utterly discontented with their foreign masters, and ripe for revolt, flew to arms; and in three months, Corsica became a division of France.

The siege of the citadel of Milan, rigorously pressed, was at length successful. The garrison capitulated on the 29th of June. By the 18th of July, one hundred and forty pieces of cannon were before Mantua. After seeing the trenches opened, Napoleon returned to Milan, and completed the ratification of treaties and the organisation of Lombardy. All Italy was now subdued, or in alliance with the Republic, excepting Mantua.



The Austrian army, in three divisions, under the command of the generals Davidowich, Quasdanowitch, and Wurmser himself, descended from the Tyrol, during the last days of July. Wurmser, confident in his numbers, and calculating upon the absorption of the energies of the French army by its endeavours to subdue Mantua, disposed his forces in the most admirable manner to improve a victory; never reflecting that he might happen to be defeated. Untaught by all the previous disasters of Beaulieu, he committed the error of dividing his army, in order to cover an extent of country. His right wing was detached, with orders to occupy Brescia, and cut off the retreat of the French in the direction of Milan: his left wing was sent to descend the Adige, and manœuvre on Verona; while the centre, under his own command, advanced to raise the siege of Mantua. During the two first days of his approach, the French generals, after resisting to the utmost, yielded up successively, Rivoli, Brescia, and Salo; but these two days were sufficient to make Napoleon master of the plan on which Wurmser proposed to carry on the campaign, and he instantly disconcerted the whole of it, by a movement so unlike that of any ordinary general, as to defy all calculation.

In one night, he raised the siege of Mantua; sacrificing the whole of his artillery. The men were employed to destroy as much as the time would allow. They spiked the guns, burnt the carriages, threw the



powder into the lake, and buried the balls. Augereau and Massena were stationed to defend the line of the Mincio as long as possible. Before morning the whole French army had disappeared from Mantua, and Napoleon was hurrying forward to attack the right wing of the Austrian army, before it could effect a junction with the central body of Wurmser.

The Austrian right wing was advancing in three divisions. Napoleon defeated one division at Salò, and another at Lonato. At the same time, Augereau and Massena, leaving a sufficient number of men at their posts to maintain a defence, or at least to impede the enemy, marched upon the third division at Brescia; but it had already fled in disorder towards the Tyrol. The French generals instantly countermarched to the support of their rear-guards, which had been forced by the Austrians.

Wurmser meanwhile had reached Mantua, where, to his utter astonishment, he found the trenches abandoned, and no enemy to oppose. Seriously alarmed for the fate of his right wing, he dispatched two divisions to force a junction with it immediately. These divisions, obtaining possession of Lonato and Castiglione, were speedily attacked one after the other (as Napoleon always contrived), and defeated and put to flight by Massena and Augereau.



Junot distinguished himself by extraordinary efforts of courage in these actions. He was thus mentioned in the dispatch sent by Napoleon to the Directory after the victory:—"I ordered my aide-de-camp,



General of Brigade Junot, to put himself at the head of my company of Guides to pursue the enemy, and overtake them by great speed at Dezenzano. He encountered Colonel Bender with a party of his regiment of Hussars, whom he charged; but Junot not wishing to waste his time by charging the rear, made a *détour* on the right,—took the regiment in front,—wounded the colonel, whom he attempted to take prisoner,—when he was himself surrounded, and after having killed six of the enemy with his own hand, was cut down, and thrown into a ditch.”

Detached parties of Austrian soldiers were now wandering about without method, and striving to rejoin Wurmser, or any part of the army which was still in the field. A body of four or five thousand of these stragglers, receiving information from the peasantry that the French had only left a garrison of twelve hundred men in Lonato, determined to take possession of the place; and their commander sent an officer to summon the garrison to surrender. The information of the smallness of the French force was perfectly correct, and a prize little anticipated by the Austrians was also within their grasp. Napoleon had just before entered Lonato, attended only by his staff. Into his presence the Austrian officer was accordingly brought blindfolded, according to custom on such occasions. With admirable presence of mind, Napoleon averted this imminent danger. Collecting all the officers of his staff around him, and assuming the state of a commander-in-chief at the head of his army, he ordered the officer's eyes to be unbandaged, and addressed him in a tone of astonishment at his audacity:—“Go, and tell your general,” he said, “that I give him eight minutes to lay down *his* arms: he is in the midst of the French army! That time passed, he has nothing to hope.” The officer, appalled at discovering in whose presence he stood, returned to his comrades with this message. The shortness of time allowed, prevented the truth from being discovered, and they immediately surrendered to a force about one-fourth of their own. They had begun to believe that their enemy possessed ubiquity.

Wurmser, whose fine army was thus being destroyed in detail, had been employed in re-victualling Mantua. It was on the night of the 31st of July, that Napoleon had suddenly deserted the works at that place; the victories we have described have only brought us to the night of the 4th of August: that night the army was collected at Castiglione. Before the morning of the 5th, General Fiorella, despatched by Napoleon with a body of men, suddenly appeared on the left wing and flank of the Austrian army, which was now under Wurmser himself approaching the French position at Castiglione. The assault took him quite by surprise. Napoleon led the attack in front. The Austrian forces were entirely routed; Wurmser was nearly taken prisoner, and pursued into Trent and Roveredo, the positions from which he so lately issued confident of



NAPOLEON SURPRISED AT LONATO.





victory. He had lost half his army, and all his artillery and stores. The French soldiers have called this succession of victories, "the campaign of five days."

Napoleon has reckoned the losses of his army in these desperate actions, at seven thousand men. The rapid marches and incessant fighting had exhausted the troops, who now absolutely required rest. Napoleon himself had not taken off his clothes, nor enjoyed regular repose, for seven days and nights. A rigorous blockade of Mantua was, nevertheless, instituted without a moment's delay.

The apparently perilous position of the army at the approach of Wurmser's overwhelming force, had clearly brought out the various feelings of the Italian states with regard to the Republic. The Pope, Naples, Venice, and Genoa, manifested evident marks of treachery. Lombardy, particularly Milan, Bologna, and Parma, with other states, remained firm in their alliance. At Ferrara, the populace were incited to revolt by Cardinal Mattei: when afterwards called before Napoleon to answer for his conduct, the churchman replied by the single word, "*Peccavi.*" Napoleon only imposed on him a confinement of three months in a religious seminary; there to practise certain fasts and penances.

The quiescence of the French army was not of long continuance. Wurmser, reinforced with twenty thousand fresh troops, giving him again the command of fifty thousand men, descended once more from the Tyrol in the beginning of September. Leaving twenty thousand men under Davidowich to cover the Tyrol, he advanced by the valley of the Brenta to raise the blockade of Mantua. Napoleon had been reinforced by only six thousand men; but he had penetrated the designs of the Austrian general; who, as if incapable of learning from experience, was again committing the error of dividing his forces beyond the power of combination. Napoleon suffered him to advance till the distance between his two divisions was sufficient for his purpose, and then leaving Kilmaine, with three thousand men, to cover the blockade of Mantua, rapidly marched to the attack of Davidowich, and defeated him at Roveredo on the 4th of September. The Austrian camp was strongly intrenched in front of the town; while Calliano and its castle upon the steep rock which overhangs the Adige, remained as a place of secure retreat in case of a defeat. This defeat, however, ensued. The intrenchments were carried by the Hussars, headed by General Dubois, who, though mortally wounded, cheered them on to the last, and fell, waving his sabre above his head and ejaculating his satisfaction in dying for the Republic. The rout of the Austrians was complete; they fled in disorder, pursued by the victorious French during the whole night, through defiles and strong positions hitherto

considered impregnable, into Trent and beyond, far into the Tyrol. The French took possession of Trent and Lavis, made seven thousand prisoners, and took twenty-one pieces of cannon, and seven stand of colours. Wurmser was now cut off from the Tyrol.



The foregoing victory was scarcely gained, before the French army was put in motion to return to the attack of the Austrian commander-in-chief. First issuing a proclamation to the Tyrolese, exhorting them to lay down their arms, and assuring them of friendly intentions, Napoleon executed in one day a forced march of forty miles, and the next of twenty more, which brought him in front of Wurmser's vanguard at Primolano. The effect of the surprise, and the impetuosity of the attack, more than counterbalanced all the advantages of position. The Austrians were routed, and fled in confusion, while four thousand laid down their arms.

The same night the French advanced another league, and halted, exhausted with fatigue, at Cismone, within four leagues of Bassano, where Wurmser, with the main body of his army was stationed. Napoleon endured the same privations as his men. Baggage and staff appointments were unable to keep up with such rapid movements. He shared the ration of bread of one of the privates,—who lived to remind him of this night, when the Republican general had lost himself in the Emperor.

The consternation of Wurmser may be imagined when he learned that the enemy, whom he had supposed deeply engaged among the passes of the Tyrol, was rapidly approaching him. He had weakened his army still further by despatching a strong division against Verona.



There is something quite ludicrous in these continual separations of the Austrian force, as though fated to be beaten each time by the very same circumstances. Wurmser now hastily summoned this force to return, but it was too late: Verona was distant fifteen leagues, and Napoleon was within four.

There was little time for preparation. Before three o'clock on the 8th of September, the French army descended upon Bassano; forced every position; bore down all resistance; drove the Austrians before them in every direction; seized the cannon by which the bridge was defended; and, for the second time, narrowly missed capturing the field-marshal and his staff, now in absolute flight. He escaped, but his troops were destroyed; six thousand laid down their arms; his artillery, baggage, and colours, were taken. He fled towards Vicenza, where he met the division of his army returning from Verona; and now, at the head of sixteen thousand men out of fifty thousand, with whom a week before he had left the Tyrol, he desperately fought his way towards Mantua.

In one of the fierce skirmishes attending the retreat of the gallant old Wurmser, it chanced that Napoleon being separated from his staff in the heat and confusion of the moment, and dashing forwards to the support of a part of his advanced guard which seemed likely to be cut to pieces, became completely surrounded by the enemy. He only escaped by reining aside his charger, and spurring away at a furious rate. So rapid was the whole occurrence that old Wurmser, who was aware of the situation of Napoleon, instantly rode up and ordered the soldiers to be sure to bring him in alive!

Wurmser would have been taken in attempting to cross the Adige, but for the negligence of the governor of Legnago, who suffered him to pass without opposition; and even then he would have been stopped, had not the orders of Napoleon, to destroy the bridges of the Molinella, been neglected. As it was, the brave, though discomfited, veteran reached Mantua in safety, and finding that, including the garrison, he could muster twenty-five thousand men, he once more attempted to make a stand. His force exceeded by a thousand men that which the French could bring up in time to oppose him; he was, however, unable to maintain his ground. This engagement, which was fought close to the citadel of Mantua, is called the battle of St. George. It was severely contested, and ended in the flight of Wurmser within the walls of the city, three thousand of his men being made prisoners. Still he was master of the Seraglio and the causeways, and succeeded in re-victualling the place. On the 25th, he made a sally, hoping to attain the command of the Adige, but failed, with a severe loss. On the 1st of October, General Kilmaine regained the command of the communications to the



Seraglio, and Wurmser was strictly blockaded within the citadel of Mantua.

Thus concluded the campaign of Wurmser: sixteen thousand men shut up with him, and ten thousand dispersed in the Tyrol, were all that remained of his army. He had also lost seventy-five pieces of cannon, thirty generals, and twenty-two stand of colours. Marmont, one of Napoleon's aides-de camp, was sent with these latter trophies to the Directory at Paris.

Napoleon returned to Milan. His army, at last being in absolute necessity of repose, went into cantonments; maintaining, nevertheless, the blockade of Mantua, and protecting their various conquests.



The mind of Napoleon was actively employed in this interval of comparative repose. He was earnest in the formation of plans for the creation of independent Republics in all those states which had been freed by his arms from the yoke of Austria. Sir Walter Scott has noticed the crooked policy of the French government in its dealings with the Italians; but has forgotten to do justice to the sincerity of Napoleon, to which all his letters to the Directory at this period, bear witness. Wherever the above writer has given false colouring to a fact, Mr. Lockhart has carefully adopted it in "The Family Library," with additional inversions and distortions. It is of no avail, in the end, for a biographer

or historian to gloss over the evil, or blot out the good deeds of his hero: both should be told in equal terms. Napoleon proposed that a congress should be assembled at Modena and Bologna, composed of deputies from all the neighbouring states; that the objects of the assembly should be:—"First, the organisation of the Italian Legion; secondly, the proper arrangements for the defence of the communes; thirdly, the mission to Paris of deputies to demand the liberty and



independence of Italy." To these enthusiastic views, which stretched forwards to the conquest or revolution of every Italian state, till of that whole beautiful country, one free nation—the ally of Republican France—should be made, the Directory replied by cold diplomatic directions, in order to delay any final measures. It might be necessary, they said, to make the Milanese the barter for a durable peace with Austria, and to restore those states to their old rulers in exchange for Belgium and Luxembourg. So it has fared for long centuries with Italy; which, at

the present day, groaning under the heavy despotism of Austria, and the ignorant yoke of the court of Rome and other Italian potentates; forced to repress every free thought and word, at the risk of the dungeon or the scaffold; still depends on its own energies for its regeneration.

Napoleon, however, was not to be stopped in any favourite plan that was practicable. He encouraged the patriots in every direction; superintended the organisation of their internal governments; improved and remodelled their fortifications. An Italian Legion joined his army, and the National Guard of Reggio served at the siege of Mantua.

Every branch of the service of the army came under the revision of the commander-in-chief. He enquired into and regulated the minutest details; his habits of business and regularity in all kinds of transactions being as remarkable as his military genius. He had repressed every sort of extortion and extravagance in the officers, civil and military, under his command; and however oppressive were his exactions for the support of his army, and the aggrandisement of France, his own name is pure from the charge of peculation or selfish grasping. He is known to have refused four millions of francs in gold from the Duke of Modena, and seven millions from the government of Venice; both sums being offered to gain his protection. It ought to be, and we believe it generally is, admitted on all sides, that, at this period, whatever may *afterwards* have been his views, he seemed actuated by no ambition but that of increasing the glory of the Republic.







## CHAPTER VII.

CAMPAIGN ON THE RHINE—MOREAU—JOURDAN—ARCHDUKE CHARLES—FOURTH ARMY OF AUSTRIA—ALVINZI—LOSSES OF THE FRENCH—BATTLE OF ARCOLA—AUSTRIANS RETREAT—FIFTH ARMY OF AUSTRIA—BATTLE OF RIVOLI—PROVERA—LA FAVORITA—FLIGHT OF THE AUSTRIANS—SURRENDER OF MANTUA.



THE struggle of Republican France against the empire of Austria, was maintained, it must be remembered, at two points: in Italy, and on the Rhine. The plan of the campaign of 1796 adopted by the Directory, had been designed by Carnot, and revised by Napoleon and Moreau. According to its grand and daring provisions, the two armies of the Rhine under Generals Jourdan and Moreau, were to push forward; form a junction with Na-

oleon by the Tyrol; and, when united, to penetrate into the heart of Germany, and dictate a peace under the walls of Vienna. Napoleon only had been able to perform his part of the plan. The victories of the army of the Rhine had filled Austria with consternation; and Moreau was fast advancing towards the desired result, when the genius of the Archduke Charles changed the fortune of the war, and compelled Jourdan to a hasty flight, and Moreau to a retreat through the Black Forest,

celebrated for the great skill with which it was conducted. Austria, relieved from apprehension of danger in the direction of the Rhine, now turned, with undivided attention, towards Italy.

Alvinzi, an officer of high reputation, was placed at the head of another new army of forty thousand men, to which he joined eighteen thousand under Davidowich in the Tyrol. His object was to raise the blockade of Mantua; release Wurmser; and, with a force which would, by the accession of the garrison of the latter, amount to eighty thousand men, he confidently expected to re-conquer Lombardy. Three large armies, advancing with similar prospects, had already been destroyed by Napoleon: a fourth now prepared to pour down upon him, under still more terrible circumstances. He had been reinforced with twelve battalions from France, amounting to about seven thousand men; but his army was still little more than half the numbers of the enemy. Wurmser maintained a resolute defence, and it was obvious would hold out to the last extremity; so that Mantua remained a point of danger. But Lombardy, in general, was well affected to the French; the spirit of the soldiers was high; their confidence in their general unbounded; and a growing belief in the predestined success of Napoleon kept those states quiescent which bore him no good will. With these advantages and disadvantages, he prepared to receive his new antagonist.

The battle of St. George, and the strict blockade of Wurmser in Mantua, took place in the middle of September. Alvinzi's army commenced its march in the beginning of October.

Napoleon instantly ordered Vaubois and Massena to advance to the attack of Davidowich (whose forces were collected in the Tyrol), before he could form a junction with Alvinzi. Both failed: Vaubois, after two days' fighting, was conquered; lost Trent and Calliano; and was forced to retreat to the positions of Corona and Rivoli: Massena, in consequence, had to effect a retreat without attempting an engagement; and Alvinzi approaching fast, gained possession of all the country between the Brenta and the Adige, and the command of the Tyrol. The two Austrian generals might now have effected a junction, but they neglected their opportunity. Napoleon retreated to Verona.

The positions of Corona and Rivoli, occupied by the division of Vaubois after their retreat, were immediately visited by the commander-in-chief. The troops came before him with dejected looks. "Soldiers!" he said, "I am not satisfied with you. You have shewn neither discipline, constancy, nor courage. You have allowed yourselves to be driven from positions where a handful of brave men might have arrested the progress of an army. Let it be written on the colours, 'They are not of the army of Italy.'" Tears and groans answered his words. Several of the veteran grenadiers, who had deserved and obtained badges of



NAPOLEON REPRIMANDING THE DIVISION OF VAUBOIS.





distinction, called from the ranks, "General! we have been misrepresented: place us in the van of the army, and you shall then judge whether we do not belong to the army of Italy." These regiments thoroughly redeemed their character in a few days.

Hitherto, the course of events since the approach of Alvinzi, had been very unfavourable to the French army. Unused to retrograde movements, failures, and losses, the soldiers began to feel discouraged, and even to murmur. Napoleon perceiving their state, encouraged them by his presence; talked with them; was frequently among them; and his power over them was such that their spirits quickly revived. He lost not a moment in taking them into action.

Alvinzi had occupied the heights of Caldiero, and threatened Verona. Massena attacked the heights, but they were found impregnable. The French were repulsed with great loss. A dreadful storm of wind and rain prevailed during the attack; of which circumstance Napoleon took all the advantage he could, and as he had been unable to make it prevent the Austrians from beating back the French, he said in his dispatches that it had prevented the French from gaining the victory.

The heights of Caldiero remaining unsubdued, Napoleon found it necessary to attempt them by other means, in order to prevent the junction of the army of Davidowich with Alvinzi. Pretending, therefore, to retreat on Mantua after his discomfiture, he returned in the night, and placed himself in the rear of Alvinzi's army. When his columns advanced on Arcola, the enemy thought at first it was only a skirmish, and that the main army of the French were in Verona.

Napoleon's intention was not likely to be suspected; for the position of Arcola rendered any attack upon it so extremely hazardous, that scarcely any one would have conceived the idea of making the attempt. The village is surrounded by marshes, intersected with a small stream; by ditches; and by three causeways, or bridges, across which alone the marshes are passable. Arcola, and the bridge leading to it, were defended with two battalions of Alvinzi's army, and two pieces of cannon which commanded the bridge. The other two causeways were unprotected.

Leaving fifteen hundred men, under Kilmaine, to defend Verona, Napoleon marched with extreme caution and celerity, under cover of the night, and passing the Adige at Ronco, reached the causeways without opposition. He had only thirteen thousand men under his command; but on such narrow ground as that about to be disputed, the conduct of the leading files must determine the result: numbers were comparatively unimportant.

A French column advanced (November 15) on each of the three causeways. The division of Augereau occupied the bridge of Arcola, which

was swept by the enemy's cannon, and assailed in flank by their battalions. Even the chosen grenadiers led by Augereau, faltered and fell back under the destructive fire. Napoleon, who knew the moment was decisive, rushed to the head of the column,—seized the colours,—and hurrying onwards, planted them with his own hands on the bridge, amidst the hail of balls from the enemy's artillery and musketry. His soldiers rallied at the sight, and again advanced; but even the enthusiasm of the moment could not bear up against the devastating effects of the fire. Alvinzi, who had perceived the attack, was now sending succours to his battalions. The Austrians fought with fury, and the French were unable to maintain their ground. Napoleon being in the very front and hazard of the fight, was soon surrounded by his faithful Guides, who bore him in their arms through the dead and dying, as they were driven backwards inch by inch with horrible carnage. While thus endeavouring to rescue their general, the group was borne against one side of the bridge, and immediately carried over into the morass beneath. Napoleon sank up to his middle, and being quite unable to extricate himself, thus remained a mark for the Austrian muskets. The enemy were now between him and the French troops, so that he was completely cut off from succour, and at the mercy of the first man who happened to recognise him through the smoke. During this frightful crisis of fate, Lannes pressed forward through the marsh, and reached him; as also did the gallant Muiron. Almost at the same moment, a shot was fired at Napoleon. It was received by Muiron, who had interposed himself, and he died covering Napoleon's body with his own. This was the same Muiron who had previously saved the life of Napoleon at the siege of Toulon. But still the person of the French general remained in the utmost peril; and now it was that the love his soldiers bore him, gave them power to effect what all efforts of example, or feats of heroism, had failed to accomplish. They bore madly onwards through all opposition; one cry only was heard,—“Save the general!” Nothing could resist them: Napoleon was quickly extricated; again he was at their head; a party of the French contrived to get across at another place, and attack the Austrians in the rear; and Arcola was taken.

The obstinate defence had enabled Alvinzi to evacuate his position by a steady and orderly retreat. Verona was, however, safe; and Napoleon retreating again to Ronco, remained stationary all night. Next morning, finding (to his surprise, no doubt) that Davidowich made no movement, either to attack Vaubois, or relieve Mantua, and that Wurmser quietly lay within the walls, not venturing any sally, he again advanced to attack Alvinzi. It would appear that the Austrian generals had no communication, and could not divine each other's wishes or intentions.





PASSAGE OF THE BRIDGE OF ARCOLA.



During the whole day, the battle raged with fierce and fluctuating success, amidst the dikes of Arcola. Next morning, the fearful scene was renewed, and to the discomfiture of the Austrians. So many perished in the marshes, that Napoleon was able to encounter the rest,



with numbers tolerably equal, on the firm ground. The day was decided at length by a stratagem. Napoleon "perceived," as he afterwards said in a conversation at St. Helena, "the critical moment of lassitude in either army, when the oldest and bravest would have been glad to be in their tents." The left of the Austrians was protected by a marsh: he, therefore, sent thirty of his Guides with four trumpets, who succeeded in doing that which would have been impossible for the whole of his cavalry. They forced their plunging horses through a distant part of the swamp, and reaching the other side, all the trumpets were suddenly sounded, while the Guides made a furious charge. The Austrians, fully believing that they were turned by the whole French cavalry, retreated. They were, however, well protected, and gained the Tyrol. Great numbers were killed on each side during these three battles of Arcola: the Austrians lost twelve thousand men killed, six thousand prisoners, eighteen pieces of cannon, and four stand of colours.

It was now that, when too late, Davidowich made an advance upon Verona. He quickly retreated, however, on learning the disasters of Arcola, and followed Alvinzi. Wurmser, too, made a desperate sally, when the army that could have supported him was dispersed; and he was therefore repulsed. He still, however, held out. The horses of the garrison had long since been killed and salted for use. The men were now reduced to half rations, and the pestilential air of the lakes was destroying numbers by disease. Still the veteran did not think of surrendering. The Austrians kept their possession of Trent, and the command



of the Tyrol. This fourth attempt of Austria to conquer Napoleon ended, therefore, in a manner less disastrous to the empire than the former; but it left him in possession of Lombardy, and once more conqueror. He returned to Milan, and the army enjoyed four months of repose.

The interval was partly employed by Napoleon in conciliating and rendering himself popular with all classes in Italy. Their language being his native tongue, added to his knowledge of their literature, and his real or pretended sympathy with their genius for the arts, greatly contributed to accomplish his object. Even the priesthood, who had hitherto denounced him from the top to the bottom of the calendar, began to feel mollified by his consummate address. One among them was a rich old canon of the name of Bonaparte; and he cordially received and feasted the conqueror as a relative, declaring him to be a scion of the Tuscan family of that name. When the old canon died, he bequeathed all his wealth to Napoleon.

In the year 1796, Catherine II., Empress of Russia, died. Her death was important to the Republic, as her successor, Paul I., completely altered the policy of the north, and broke all the engagements of Russia with the coalition.



Again, and for the fifth time, Austria prepared to renew the contest. The spirit of the people was roused to restore the national honour. A volunteer corps took the field. Vienna furnished four battalions, and to them the Empress of Austria presented a banner wrought with her own

hands. The Tyrolese also flocked to the standard of their hereditary sovereign. They were contented under a government which had respected their privileges, and they wanted no change. The Pope, invited by the Austrian ambassador, broke the treaty of Bologna; and raising an army of seven thousand men, waited in readiness to act in concert with Wurmser, when he should be released from Mantua. A messenger despatched to Wurmser, from the imperial court, was, however, taken by the French. He swallowed his dispatches, concealed in a little ball of wax. But he was seen to do this, and means being taken to recover them, Napoleon thus learned the present designs of the Austrian government. The wax enclosed a letter to Wurmser, signed by the emperor's own hand. It was to the following effect:—Alvinzi was once more placed at the head of sixty thousand men, and was again to march into Lombardy, and to raise the siege of Mantua. Wurmser was directed to hold out to the last extremity. If the army of Alvinzi could be united with his garrison, the destruction of the French seemed undoubted; if not, and if, in the course of hostilities, he found it best to abandon Mantua, he was directed to cut his way into Romagna, and take the command of the papal troops.

The interval between the discovery of the purpose and its execution was of no great duration. Early in January, 1797, the Austrian army advanced by Bassano. Experience seemed of no sort of avail to their councils, for yet again their force was divided. Alvinzi, who led the principal army, directed his march upon Roveredo. Provera, already distinguished for his courage at the battle of Millesimo, with the other division, advanced to act upon the lower Adige. His vanguard forced a party of French to cross to the other bank of the river at Bevi l'Acqua.

Napoleon had concentrated his army at Verona, uncertain, as yet, which attack he was to consider as the principal one. On the night of the 13th of January, he received information that Joubert, whom he had left in defence of Corona (a small town strongly fortified), had been attacked by an immense body, and having with difficulty maintained his post throughout the day, was now on the point of retreating to secure the heights of Rivoli, a position of great importance.

Deciding at once from this account, that Alvinzi led the principal attack, Napoleon, having left Augereau to keep Provera in check, instantly made a forced march towards Rivoli, and reached the heights by two o'clock on the morning of the 14th. Joubert, who was in the act of evacuating Rivoli, perceiving that a retreat was inevitable, was now ordered to countermarch, and resume his post.

It is generally found in private life, that the more individuals manœuvre, the more difficulties do they create: the blunt, straightforward man is apt to blunder upon good fortune; while the subtle tactician, who has worked an admirable calculation, just loses the whole

because he has "made a mistake in a figure," or not allowed quite enough "for the wind." In the movements of large masses, all dependent upon the fiat of one man's mind, the importance of the result becomes so fearful, that it is wonderful the minds of men thus circumstanced should not be oftener paralysed than they are, and reduced to a condition of reasoning immobility. Rapid decision, on these occasions, seems to give the best chances of success, because it approaches nearer to the operations of instinct; and thus are great physical advantages gained, while the deliberations of mere theoretic intellect only suspend the balance, which is snatched away by the first resolute gust of the coming storm.

From the eminence on which he stood, Napoleon calmly surveyed the bivouac of this new army, destined to destroy him,—or to be destroyed by him, like the four which had preceded it. The night was clear, and favoured his observations. The moon shone down on the plain below, and there he saw the dark masses of the Austrians,—the army being divided into five distinct bodies. From this he inferred that their attack would be made in five columns. He judged rightly, also, from the distance at which they had stationed their bivouacs from the position of Joubert, that their artillery and cavalry had not yet arrived, and that they meant to wait for them, and not begin the battle early in the morning. To hurry it on before these important auxiliaries arrived, was the immediate object of Napoleon. He ordered the attack at daybreak. The engagement began by the French driving the Austrians from the Chapel of St. Mark. The nearest column advanced to retake it, but was repulsed; the next came up, and the French were beaten back. The affair became perilously doubtful: Napoleon himself galloped off to bring up reinforcements: Massena's division was the nearest; the men had lain down to sleep, tired with the march, but started up at his voice, and the Austrian column was speedily repulsed. The third advanced, and was in turn conquered. Quasdanowitch, who commanded the fourth, observing, at the same moment, the important chapel on the height of St. Mark, abandoned by the French in the pursuit, sent three battalions to ascend the hill and retake it. His design was observed: as the Austrians ascended the hill on one side, the French cautiously ascended on the other, and their superior activity bringing them first to the top, they drove the Austrians headlong down, in disastrous confusion. The French batteries now made havoc of the broken columns; the cavalry made repeated charges; four out of the five divisions were thus broken and utterly routed. The fifth now made its appearance in the rear of the French, after bringing up the artillery and baggage, according to the orders of the Austrian general before the action. Had this movement been made a little sooner, it might have turned the fortune of the day: as it was, the sudden appearance, after so desperate an action, might have





struck a panic in soldiers less confident in their general; but the French soldiers only exclaimed, "Here come further supplies to our market!"—and very soon the Austrians, exposed to a heavy fire from the artillery, were forced to lay down their arms.

Napoleon had remained in the hottest of the fight throughout the action, which lasted during twelve hours; he had three horses killed under him, and was exposed to imminent danger. Massena, in particular, among his generals, distinguished himself. The victory, won by consummate skill, was decisive of the fate of Alvinzi's army; his shattered forces fled in confusion, closely pursued by the French, and never rallied again.

The fierce contest was no sooner ended, than Napoleon hastened to attack Provera, leaving Massena, Joubert, and Murat, to pursue the vanquished.

Provera, with his division, had effected the passage of the Adige on the very day of the battle of Rivoli, and advanced to Mantua. His first attempt to relieve the garrison was by stratagem. The suburb of St. George, manned by fifteen hundred French under Miollis, was defended only by a circumvallation. A regiment of Austrian cavalry presented themselves at the barricades, disguised in white cloaks in order to resemble the French hussars, and would have been admitted but for



the promptitude of an old sergeant. He observed that the cloaks were too fresh and white to belong to the hussars, who had worn theirs in many a rough day, and he instantly closed the barriers, and warned a drummer who was near him of the danger. These two gave the alarm, and the guns of the blockading force were instantly turned upon their pretended friends, who were forced to retire. This attempt, however, shewed the necessity for constant vigilance; and Napoleon, unable to rest, notwithstanding his recent exertions and fatigue, passed the night in visiting the different outposts. At one of these he discovered the sentinel lying at the foot of a tree, where he had fallen fast asleep from exhaustion. Napoleon took the soldier's musket without waking him, and walked backwards and forwards on sentry during half an hour. Suddenly the soldier started from his slumber, terrified at what he had done; but how much more so when he perceived who was performing



his duty! He fell on his knees. "My friend," said the general mildly, "here is your musket. You have fought hard, and marched long, and your exhaustion is excusable; but a moment's inattention might endanger the whole army. I happened to be awake, and have held your post for you: you will not again neglect your duty."

By noon on the 16th of January, the day after the battle of Rivoli, Provera appeared in full force before St. George; but Miollis and his little garrison defended the suburb throughout the day. Before its close, Napoleon, by forced marches of wonderful celerity, had reached Roverbella, and was now within twelve miles of Mantua with his victorious army.

Provera had contrived to communicate with Wurmser across the lake. A junction effected with his garrison of twenty thousand, might yet retrieve all the disasters of the Austrians. The perversity or stupidity which characterised their proceedings in never combining their forces, even when they found themselves always vanquished by their adversary's adoption of that very plan, certainly reached to so wonderful a height during these campaigns, that we can only suppose it to have resulted either from a fatality, or from some dogmatical perseverance in certain bad rules of their military education. But to find them, after losing so many opportunities of uniting their forces, and driving Napoleon's army to death and ruin before them, at last "flying kites" across the water, with exhortations to unite, now that it was quite too late to do any good, is enough to excite laughter even amidst these horrid scenes; especially when we see that their wary enemy gave them credit for this final effort of useless good sense, and superseded it accordingly.

Early on the 17th, Wurmser, according to the plan concerted between them, sallied forth with his whole garrison, and attacked St. Antoine, while Provera assaulted the citadel of La Favorita. But in the night, Napoleon had stationed General Victor, with the brigades Rivoli, between the two positions, to prevent the junction. Some desperate fighting ensued: Serrurier, with the blockading army, engaged Wurmser; while the fifty-seventh demi-brigade, under Victor, on this day performed certain feats of desperate courage which gained for them their name of "The Terrible." In the course of these actions, there occurred a single combat, of no sort of importance in itself, but affording our friends, the French historians, an opportunity of drawing comparisons with striking events which have been celebrated in epic poems and ancient times. Of this opportunity, Laurent amusingly avails himself. The affair was simply this:—A commandant of Austrian hussars rode out from the ranks on meeting with one of the French squadrons, and challenged their leader, Duvivier. It was accepted:





the Austrian was cut down, and the French charging his men, made them prisoners.

Wurmser was beaten back after a deadly struggle (which was not decided till Napoleon led a renewed attack in person), and again forced to retreat into Mantua. Serrurier and Victor then surrounded Provera, and the battle raged in the suburb of St. George. The tumult and slaughter were dreadful; cavalry, infantry, and artillery, were mingled in one horrible mass of confusion. Provera and his whole force were compelled to lay down their arms. Not more than two thousand men, who had been left beyond the Adige, out of the whole of his division, escaped.

The fugitive army of Alvinzi experienced a similar fate. They fled, abandoning one position after another. Lavisio, Treviso, Bassano, and Trent, once more fell into the hands of the French, who had now regained the command of the Italian Tyrol. Large bodies of the Austrians surrendered. One anecdote is sufficient to shew their dispirited condition, and the contrast of the elated audacity of the French:—René, a young French officer keeping guard of a position with about one hundred and fifty men, suddenly encountered, and took prisoners, a small party of Austrians; when, on advancing to reconnoitre, he found himself in front of a body of eighteen hundred more, whom a turning in the road had concealed from sight. "Lay down your arms!" said the Austrian commandant. René answered, with ready boldness, "Do *you* lay down your arms! I have destroyed your advanced guard;—ground your arms, or no quarter!" The French soldiers joined in the cry, and the whole

body of the astonished Austrians absolutely laid down their arms to a party which, they found to their exasperation when too late, was in numbers one-twelfth of their own.

In this fifth and last attempt to drive the French out of Lombardy, Austria lost thirty thousand men, of whom nineteen thousand were prisoners; more than sixty pieces of cannon, and twenty-four stand of colours.

Mantua was now left without hope of relief. The hospitals were crowded; the provisions just exhausted. But old Wurmser still held out. Napoleon sent him instructions of the rout and dispersion of the Austrian army, and summoned him to surrender. The old soldier proudly replied, that "he had provisions for a year;" but a few days afterwards, he sent his aide-de-camp, Klenau, to the head-quarters of Serrurier, to treat of a surrender.



At the conference, a French officer was present, who sat apart from the two others, wrapped in his cloak, but within hearing of what passed. After the discussion was finished, this officer came forward, and wrote marginal answers to the conditions proposed by Wurmser; granting terms far more favourable than those which might have been exacted in the extremity to which the veteran was reduced. "These," said the unknown officer, giving back the paper, "are the terms that I grant, if he opens his gates to-morrow; and if he delays a fortnight, a month,

two months, he shall have the same terms. He may hold out to his last morsel of bread: to-morrow I pass the Po, and march upon Rome." Klenau, perceiving that he stood in the presence of Napoleon, and struck with his generosity and the honourable conditions he had granted, owned that only three days' provisions remained in Mantua.

On the 2nd of February, 1797, Wurmser gave up the city of Mantua, and his garrison of thirteen thousand men; seven thousand were lying in the hospitals. Napoleon completed the generosity which so honourably distinguished his conduct on this occasion, by leaving the place before the surrender, and sparing the conquered veteran the mortification of giving up his sword to so youthful a commander.

Upwards of five hundred brass cannons, together with an immense quantity of military stores, fell into the hands of the French by these victories; and Augereau was despatched to Paris with sixty stand of colours, as a triumphant present to the Directory.

After the most careful estimate of numbers, taken from writers on all sides of politics, and making all ascertainable additions of supplies, and all deductions for killed, wounded, and prisoners, we ascertain that Napoleon, with a total force of, at the utmost, sixty-five thousand men, conquered, in their own country, and under the eye and succouring hand of their own government, five successive armies; amounting, in all, to upwards of three hundred thousand well-appointed, well-provisioned soldiers, under old and experienced commanders, of approved courage. Such are the facts of the conquest of Lombardy.







## CHAPTER VIII.

WURMSER'S DEPARTURE—HIS GRATITUDE—THE POPE BREAKS THE TREATY—HIS ARMY  
—NAPOLEON ENTERS ROMAGNA—BATTLE OF THE SENIO—NAPOLEON'S CLEMENCY—  
ANCONA—LORETTO—TOLENTINO—THE POPE SUBMITS—INQUISITION—TREATY OF ROME.



GENERAL SERRURIER received the surrender of Mantua, and saw the brave old Austrian field-marshal file off with his staff. Napoleon was by this time in Romagna: Wurmser sent him a letter, handsomely acknowledging the generosity and delicacy of his conduct, and at the same time apprising him by his aide-de-camp of a conspiracy to poison him in the dominions of the Pope, with whom he was about to wage a war, very different in character from the fierce and deadly contest which he had just brought to a conclusion.

In relating the history of a campaign, it is useless to mourn over the ignorance and woes of humanity. The monody would be repeated at the close of every victory. To condemn the soldiers or their generals is puerile, when the source of the evil lies in the cabinets of princes. Above all others, it does not become an English biographer to accuse

Napoleon of the horrors of war, when we recollect how prominent a part our government took in the proceedings which called him into action. Napoleon is not to be regarded as a philosopher, a philanthropist, a moralist, nor as the champion of liberty: he is to be regarded as the agent and consequence of political animosities and national struggles with foreign powers: his profession was the sword, and he used it with every possible advantage he could obtain. He had no more scruples about the sacrifice of human life than are common to all military and naval men. It is not that those who follow the business of war are less humane than other men, but that in the prospect of an "action," the question of human life is merged, and lost sight of, in the anxiety for the result. Moreover, although the end may swallow up the means, there is always a chance of escape for individual energies; and when a commander exposes his own person in the thick of the danger, he cannot reasonably be expected to feel any scruple about placing others in the same situation. The following anecdote will come home to the breast of many a veteran who has directed the onset, and witnessed the slaughter which ensued:—Las Casas relates in the words of Napoleon a reminiscence of one of those visits, in company with only two or three persons, to the field of battle, while still strewn with the dead and dying, which, it has been mentioned, were habitual with him: the occasion, alluded to, happened in Italy, after one of the great actions there. "In the deep silence of a beautiful moonlight night, a dog leaping suddenly from beneath the clothes of his dead master, rushed upon us, and then immediately returned to his hiding-place, howling piteously; he alternately licked his master's face, and again flew at us; thus at once soliciting aid and seeking revenge. Whether owing to my own particular turn of mind at the moment," continued Napoleon, "the time, the place, or the action itself, I know not; but, certainly, no incident on any field of battle ever produced so deep an impression on me. This man, thought I, perhaps has friends in the camp or in his company, and here he lies, forsaken by all except his dog. What a lesson Nature here presents through the medium of an animal! What a strange being is man; and how mysterious are his impressions! I had, without emotion, ordered battles which were to decide the fate of the army; I had beheld, with tearless eyes, the execution of those operations, by which numbers of my countrymen were sacrificed; and here my feelings were roused by the mournful howling of a dog!"

The following letter from Napoleon to General Clarke, written immediately after one of his brilliant victories, is also interesting, as evidence of that sinking and weariness of the spirit which, when action is at variance with nature, will at times weigh it down in its bewildered struggle with the truth of things:—"Your nephew has been slain on



the field of battle, at Arcola; the young man had been familiar with arms; had led on columns, and would have been one day an excellent officer. He has died with glory, in the face of the enemy; he did not suffer for an instant. What man would not envy such a death? Who is there among us who has not a hundred times regretted that he has not been thus withdrawn from the powerful effects of calumny, of envy, and of all the odious passions which seem the almost exclusive directors of the conduct of mankind!" These expressions, in a moment of triumph, are remarkable.

The determination of Napoleon to pass the Po and advance upon Rome was caused by the hostile position now assumed by the Pope. Upon occasion of the temporary success of Austria at one period of the campaign, his holiness, who had contrived to evade the fulfilment of some important points of the engagements in the treaty of Bologna, suddenly discovered that "all negociation with the French was incompatible with the Catholic religion, and his duty as a sovereign!" he therefore formed a league with the emperor. A messenger from Cardinal Busca, secretary of state at the papal court, was intercepted by the French: they learned from his dispatches that the emperor had empowered General Colli to take command of the troops which the Pope was levying in Romagna, and that every means afforded by the power of superstition had been put in practice, to incite the population to take arms against the French. It must be added in justification of the Pope, that it was the evident purpose of the Directory to strip him of his secular power. Before the end of January, the papal army was in the field, Cardinal Busca himself at its head: it consisted of seven thousand soldiers, and a multitude of peasants and monks.

The French minister was instantly recalled from Rome, and an army of eight thousand six hundred men, partly French and partly Italian, was assembled at Bologna, under General Victor. Napoleon joined them, and put forth a manifesto, in which he accused the Pope of having violated his treaty, and published the intercepted letters in corroboration. On the 2nd of February his head quarters were fixed at the bishop's palace, at Imola, belonging to Chiaramonte, afterwards Pius VII. On the 3rd, the French troops reached Castel Bolognese, on the river Senio, behind which, Cardinal Busca, with his army, was encamped, intending to dispute the passage of the bridge, with eight pieces of cannon.

The French had performed a fatiguing day's march, and as they were stationing their guard, an officer, with a flag of truce, from the Cardinal, came up, and fiercely announced to them that, "If they continued to advance, he would fire upon them." There was much laughter among the soldiers at this threat, and the reply was, "that



they did not wish to expose themselves to the Cardinal's thunders, and were about to take up their quarters for the night." However light the French soldiers made of their antagonists, they would have found them formidable if their discipline had equalled their fanatical fury. Cardinal Busca had boasted that he would make a Vendée of Romagna, and he had succeeded; the tocsin had been sounding for three days in every village; the populace were in a state of frenzy; pretended miracles were wrought by the priests; and a kind of holy war had begun.



In the night, Lannes crossed the river with the advanced guard, at a league and a-half above the French position, and drew up in line in the rear of the enemy. The papal troops were, by this movement, cut off from their retreat on Faenza, and panic-struck to find themselves in the morning between two fires: the French forced the passage of the bridge in close column, and their opponents were completely routed, after a short resistance; baggage, artillery,—all were taken. This "Roman" army fled in disorder; some hundreds were killed, amongst whom were a few monks; but the Cardinal himself escaped. Cru-





SUBMISSION OF THE PEOPLE OF PAVLA.





cifixes, mixed with poniards, and arms of all sorts, strewed the field of battle. The loss of the French was very small; they marched forward to Faenza the same day; the gates were closed, the ramparts manned, and lined with a few pieces of cannon, and the populace answered the summons for admittance with violent abuse: it became necessary to force the gates; Napoleon would not, however, permit the pillage of the place. "These" he said to the soldiers, "are only misled people, who must be subdued by clemency." In pursuance of this policy, as wise as it was humane, his first care was to tranquillise the vanquished: all the prisoners taken in the previous battle were collected in the garden of one of the monasteries. When Napoleon approached them, they threw themselves on their knees in terror, imploring mercy; he spoke to them in Italian, in these words:—"I am the friend of all the nations of Italy, and particularly of the people of Rome. You are free: return to your families, and tell them that the French are the friends of religion, of order, and of the poor." Transports of joy and gratitude succeeded to the terror and hatred of the excitable temperaments he addressed. He next went among the officers who had been made prisoners; talked long with them, spoke of the liberty of Italy, the abuses of the papal power, the folly of resistance to the Republic; and then gave them their liberty, only asking them, in return for his lenity, to tell their countrymen of the

sentiments he had expressed. As these prisoners amounted to several hundreds, some of them belonging to the first families of Rome, the impression he made upon them by this generous and most politic treatment was of the greatest importance. They went home loudly proclaiming his praises, and the spirit of the entire population was altered materially towards the French, from that moment.



General Colli, with three thousand men—all he had been able to collect—had taken up a good position on the heights before Ancona. Victor advanced upon this body of troops, and summoned them to surrender, his soldiers having surrounded them. Colli, with his officers, had retired into Loretto on the approach of the French, and his men could do no other than lay down their arms. Not a single shot was fired. These prisoners were sent home in the same manner as the former had been. Ancona, the only sea-port of the papal states, was next entered, with very slight opposition. The arsenal was found to be well provided, containing one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, besides five hundred muskets sent lately by the emperor. A capture of a very different kind was also made. This was a very extraordinary image of the Virgin; the corporeal construction of which had been made on principles of such extreme sympathy with mundane affairs, that while the soldiers helped themselves to whatever ornaments and relics pleased their fancy, she was actually shedding a constant current of tears. Crowds of Italians prostrated themselves before this miracle. The French being, however, more hard-hearted or less reverentially credulous, took



down the weeping Virgin, and carried her to head-quarters. On examining the sources of her sensibility, no fountain of tears was discovered; but a fine circle of glass beads, which, passing from her eyes, and escaping in the folds of her robe, was made to revolve with a flowing effect, by means of clock-work. Similar pieces of machinery are now exhibited in many of the watchmakers and fancy shops of London, in the form of fountains issuing from lions' mouths.

On the 10th of February, the French army entered Loretto, famous for containing the Santa Casa, long visited by devout pilgrims of all nations; having been the residence of the Virgin Mary, and transported to that place by angels. It is a little cabin ten or twelve yards square. The immense wealth in gold and jewels once amassed in this shrine from the gifts of the visitors, had been all or chiefly removed,—it is said, under the superintendence of General Colli, but more likely, as Sir Walter Scott suggests, they had been long since appropriated by the court of Rome. The wooden image of Our Lady of Loretto was





sent to Paris, and remained in the National Library till 1802, when Napoleon restored it to the Pope. It is roughly carved, but was said to be of celestial workmanship. A bed-gown of dark-coloured camlet, (warranted to have belonged to the Blessed Virgin), and the sacred porringer, were also captured. Meantime the soldiers took up their quarters wherever they could make themselves most comfortable, without any nice considerations of sanctity. Some of the confessionals were converted into sentry-boxes, and caricatures of the Pope or St. Peter were frequently perpetrated on the walls and doors.

The army now resumed its march towards Rome. An amusing instance of the intriguing nature of the Italian courts occurred about this time. The Prince of Belmonte-Pignatelli, who attended at headquarters in quality of Neapolitan ambassador, came to Napoleon to shew him, in strict confidence, a letter of the Queen of Naples, proposing to send an army of thirty thousand men to protect Rome. Napoleon, who instantly penetrated the spirit of this communication, answered by calling for his portfolio, and reading from a copy of one of his own dispatches to the Directory, written some time previously, the following extract:—"I postpone the movement upon Rome till after the surrender of Mantua; in which case, if the King of Naples should interfere, I shall be able to spare twenty-five thousand men to march upon his capital, and drive him over into Sicily." Prince Pignatelli said no more about Neapolitan armed interference.

The greatest dismay now pervaded the Patrimony of St. Peter's. The Pope in vain exhorted the inhabitants to rise against this second Alaric, who was approaching the Holy City. One plan adopted by the monasteries to conciliate Napoleon, was that of turning out the exiled French priests, who, to the number of several thousands, had taken refuge in Rome; but this he would not permit. Instead of the expected persecution, he published a proclamation commanding the army to look upon them as friends and countrymen, and ordering the monasteries to supply them with food, lodging, and everything needful, and fifteen livres (twelve shillings and sixpence) per month each; for which the priest should say as many masses as were usually considered tantamount to the sum. Nobody regarded this as a joke, but as a very serious matter.

The army was at Tolentino, within three days' march of Rome, on the 13th of February. The Pope, now reduced to despair, was on the point of taking flight, and seeking refuge in Naples. The horses were already put to the state carriages, when his holiness was induced to throw himself upon the mercy of the French. Napoleon had communicated with him through the superior of the monastic order of Camalduli, and through Cardinal Mattei (who had completed his penances),

and assured him that no personal harm was intended to him; and that he had only to change his ministers, and send plenipotentiaries to Tolentino to arrange a peace with the Republic. These assurances prevailed. Four ministers were sent to the head-quarters of Napoleon, of whom Mattei was one, and the treaty was soon concluded.

The Pope renounced every alliance, offensive and defensive, against France; ceded Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna to the Republic; allowed Ancona to be occupied by the French till a general peace; disavowed the murder of Basseville, and re-established the French school of art at Rome; agreed to make good all the articles of the treaty of Bologna, and to give an additional supply of money (upwards of a million sterling), horses, and works of art. These conditions, hard as they were, were more lenient than the Directory wished to have granted; Napoleon thought, however, that by proceeding to the extremity of entirely depriving the Pope of his temporalities, popular resentments might be roused, which would increase his spiritual influence; a fear certainly founded upon a just view of human nature. He also expected such a step would provoke Naples to aggressions that would occupy his army, instead of allowing him to march upon Vienna, his favourite object; he therefore took his own way, and concluded the peace. He wished to have forced the abolition of the Inquisition; but the point was given up as a particular favour to the Pope. It was declared that it was now only a tribunal of police, and that the *auto-da-fé* no longer took place. "But," as Hazlitt truly remarks, "if it was at present reduced to a nonentity, why attach so much importance to it? If it was only a shadow, it was a terrible one, from which the mind shrunk with hatred and fear. The very name of the Inquisition is an insult to common sense and humanity. But by keeping up the outward form, the imagination is familiarised with it; is taught to look upon it as harmless; the tendency, the pretensions of bigotry and fanaticism, are still virtually acknowledged and kept in view by their adherents; and by always having the name ready, opportunity may not be wanting to restore the *thing*! Hence the tenaciousness with which its advocates uniformly adhere to every relic of arbitrary power; and hence the determination with which all such claims, grounded on their apparent insignificance, should be resisted."

Junot, who had recovered from his wounds, was sent with a respectful letter from Napoleon to the Pope, and Victor was left to see the treaty fulfilled. Napoleon himself proceeded to Mantua, which was full of Austrian invalids: he superintended the repair of the fortification, and then went to Milan. On his way, he had sent a deputy to the little state of San Marino, which, only acknowledging the Pope as a protector, had maintained its independence for many years. It



consisted of a single mountain and town, with seven thousand inhabitants, governed by their own laws. Monge, the chief of the Committee of Artists attending the army, who was sent to them, carried offers of an accession of territory, and close alliance with France. The latter was gladly accepted; the former wisely declined, lest it should embroil them with other states.

Bologna and Ferrara, now free, coalesced with Reggio and Modena, which had thrown off the yoke of their duke, and formed one independent state, with the title of the Cispadane Republic. A congress of a hundred delegates from the four districts met to effect the formation of their government, and an address was sent by them to Napoleon, to announce their proceedings. The provisional council of Milan had completed the revolutionising of Lombardy, which now took the name of the Transpadane Republic. The form of government adopted in France was the prototype of these rising states: they abolished all feudal distinctions, appointed National Guards, and National Representation; and the formation of their institutions was superintended and protected by Napoleon. At the same time, every possible encouragement was given by him to literature and art, and he took pains to collect about him all the men distinguished for genius or learning. A spirit of liberty had arisen, and was rapidly spreading in Italy.

The army of Italy was at length reinforced effectively, with some thirty thousand men, out of which nineteen thousand might be considered in good fighting condition and discipline. Napoleon reviewed these troops upon his return from Tolentino.







## CHAPTER IX.

ARMY OF THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES — BERNADOTTE — NAPOLEON AT BASSANO — MASSENA  
CROSSES THE PIAVE — PASSAGE OF THE TAGLIAMENTO — PESARO — CHIUSA — RETREAT OF  
THE ARCHDUKE — AUSTRIA SOLICITS AN ARMISTICE.



UNCONQUERED by the conquest of their armies; unsubdued by the slaughter of their best men; their energies not destroyed by failures five-fold; with strong invasion on the very front and threshold of their power; the Austrian government again raised an army which prepared to advance towards the Italian frontier. Napoleon being now at the head of a force probably amounting to nearly

sixty thousand men, determined to meet, instead of awaiting, the attack.

Before putting his army in motion, Napoleon found it necessary to come to an understanding with Venice, which at present remained in what its government termed "a state of impartial neutrality:" in other words, while keeping quiet by compulsion, they watched the first opportunity to rise against France, whose free institutions the Venetian oligarchy hated and feared. Mr. Lockhart very neatly characterises it as "the *flimsy* neutrality" of Venice.

The Doge had made new levies, formed military magazines, and could command fifty thousand men. But the Venetian territories were divided against themselves. The inhabitants of the Terra Firma, or mainland, were jealous of the superior privileges of the insular nobility of Venice, and threatened, after the example of the new-created Republics, to throw off their allegiance. Brescia and Bergamo in particular, were earnest for independence. Napoleon urged the government to form an alliance offensive and defensive with France, but in vain; they kept to their temporising and treacherous policy, notwithstanding Pésaro, who then managed the concerns of their Republic, had undertaken to employ his good offices in the affair. Napoleon, therefore, taking care to let them know that he left a sufficient force in Italy to watch their proceedings, without further negotiations, put his army in motion towards Germany. On the 9th of March, his head-quarters were fixed at Bassano.

In order to render it clearly understood in what state for the defence of his previous conquests Napoleon left Italy, when his main army advanced upon Germany, we shall quote his own statement, taken from Bourrienne's Memoirs:—"General Kilmaine possessed, for the preservation of Italy, numerous garrisons in all the fortified places and castles; two Polish legions, two Lombard legions, and the whole of General Victor's division which came from Rome. All the castles of Verona, Porto-Legnago, Peschiera, and Palma-Nuova, were in the power of the armies of Italy, and in a state of defence."

The Archduke Charles, who had rendered himself famous as a general by his victories on the Rhine, where he had defeated the courage and skill of Jourdan and Moreau, was now to be opposed to Napoleon. He led the Austrian army, which amounted to fifty thousand men, and was intended to form a junction with forty thousand more, who were advancing to meet him, from the army of the Rhine. He assembled his force at Friuli. He was fettered by the directions of the Aulic Council (which, according to the strict etiquette of the empire, he was forced to obey), or his position would have been more naturally fixed in the Tyrol, where his reinforcements from the Rhine could have joined him ten days sooner than was possible at Friuli; and Napoleon, instantly perceiving the means of *again* reducing them to a condition of divided forces, hastened forward before the junction could be effected.

Upon entering the Austrian dominions, Napoleon confidently reckoned on the co-operation of the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, and the Rhine, under Hoche and Moreau. The three united would have amounted to nearly two hundred thousand men, and might have dictated a peace to the empire on any terms. But the Directory, apparently from jealous fear of the ambition and success of their young general,







GENERAL MASSENA.

sacrificed the undoubted interests of France. They persisted in keeping the armies separate. From the Sambre and Meuse, eight regiments only, amounting, as previously stated, to nineteen thousand efficient men, under the command of Bernadotte, had been sent to join Napoleon; but these were full of spirit, and elated at the idea of forming a part of so victorious an army. Bernadotte felt this on arriving within sight of the squadrons, and could not forbear exclaiming, with a tolerably equal mixture of envy, pride, and national vanity, "Soldiers of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, the army of Italy is before us!"



Without attempting a remonstrance with the Directory against their preventing the union of the three entire French armies, Napoleon proceeded vigorously on his career. He issued one of his stirring proclamations at Bassano, and then advanced to attack the archduke, who was stationed upon the plains bordering on the banks of the Tagliamento. At the same time, he despatched Massena with a division of cavalry, to effect the passage of the Piave, a river thirty miles to the westward of the Tagliamento, where the Austrians had an army of observation under Lusignan, and to occupy the mountains on the right of the Archduke's army. This service Massena performed with the greatest skill; he crossed the Piave on the 11th of March, made Lusignan and five hundred of his men prisoners, and drove the rest





beyond the Tagliamento, taking Feltre, Cadore, and Bellune. Guieux's division passed the Piave at Treviso, where the river is deep, but the soldiers surmounted every difficulty: a drummer was the only person in danger of being drowned, and he was saved by a woman, who swam after him.

On the 16th of March, the two armies, headed by Napoleon and the Archduke Charles, in person, were drawn up on opposite sides of the Tagliamento, face to face. The Austrians were posted in the most admirable manner; their artillery, sharp-shooters, and their fine cavalry, so disposed as to make the attempt to force the passage of the river extremely hazardous. After some cannonading, the French, who had marched all the previous night, retired to the rear, and took up their bivouac. The archduke, knowing they had performed this long march, naturally concluded that they declined to make the desperate attempt of crossing the river in the face of his army, and accordingly withdrew to his encampment. They had scarcely done this, when the French army, which had lain down in orderly ranks to rest a couple of hours, suddenly sprang up, and was formed in two lines; Napoleon marched them rapidly to the river, threw the first line into columns, which being supported on each flank by the cavalry, plunged into the stream, and reached the opposite side before the astonished Austrians could assume a battle array, or good position of defence. They, however, charged the French repeatedly with the greatest courage, but could not drive them back; and the second line now coming up, completed the ad-





PASSAGE OF THE TAGLIAMENTO.



vantage. The archduke was compelled to retreat, leaving eight pieces of cannon and some prisoners behind.

The Venetian minister, Pesaro, visited the head-quarters of the French general after this victory. Napoleon made a last effort to change the crooked policy of that state, but could receive nothing but the old answers. "Venice," said Pesaro, "rejoices in your triumphs; she knows that she cannot exist but by means of France; but, continuing faithful to her ancient and wise policy, she wishes to remain neutral." Napoleon took leave of him with a threat that could not easily be misunderstood. "I am marching on Vienna," he said. "Things that I might have forgiven when I was in Italy, would be unpardonable crimes when I am in Germany. Should my soldiers be assassinated, my convoys harassed, and my communications intercepted, in the Venetian territories, your Republic will have ceased to exist."



During the action of the Tagliamento, Massena had pushed forward, crossed the river nearer its source, destroyed the troops he found before him, and occupied the passes of the Julian Alps, which placed him between the imperial right wing and Vienna. The archduke, with a view to remove this danger, if possible, joined to his force a fine column of grenadiers, just arrived from the Rhine, and placing himself at their head, hurried forward and encountered Massena at Tarwis. The archduke made the attack with fury; repeatedly exposing his own person



to imminent danger, and was more than once on the very point of being taken prisoner; but he could not overcome the French soldiers. He fought till his very last battalion had been engaged, and then fled beyond the Drave, where his broken forces rallied. Massena now commanded the pass of the Tarwis, by which three Austrian divisions, coming up through the valley of the Isonzo, were cut off from their main army.

The archduke continued to retreat; the Isonzo, a deep and furious torrent, closed round by mountains, seemed, after he had passed it, to afford an insurmountable barrier to his pursuers; but the frost had made it fordable in many places, Napoleon coming up with Serrurier's division, effected the passage, Colonel Andreossy being the first to throw himself into the river. The division of Bernadotte had attempted to pass by Gradisca, a town strongly fortified, and four hundred men had been lost in the assault. The cagerness of his division to prove their valour, and take the place before the old troops of the army of Italy could come up, was the cause of this imprudence. When Serrurier's division appeared on the heights above the town, the governor surrendered with his garrison of nearly three thousand men. Headquarters were advanced to Goritz next day.

The French now took possession of Trieste and Fiume, the only sea-ports belonging to Austria; seized the English merchandise, and made a prize of quicksilver to the amount of several millions of francs, from the mines of Idria.

Still pressing onwards, the French army passed the Drave at Villach, and advanced to Klagenfurth. It had now emerged from the passes of the Carnic and Julian Alps, and had penetrated into the valley of the Drave in Germany. The language, manners, and customs, of the people were different from those of Italy. Napoleon took the utmost pains to conciliate them. He distributed a proclamation, in which he assured them of good will and protection; and entreated them to take no part in a war in which they had no concern, the blame of which he laid on English gold and Austrian treachery. "Let us be friends," he said, "in spite of England and the court of Vienna. The French Republic possesses the rights of conquest over you: let these rights be cancelled by a contract which shall be binding upon each of us. Do not interfere in the wars of others." The good people of the valley must have been somewhat puzzled to comprehend the nice distinction whereby they were to consider themselves as having no concern in a war carried on in their own country. He also invited them to supply his army, instead of paying their taxes to the emperor. This address had, nevertheless, considerable effect in calming their minds; and there is little doubt that the "supplies" were brought in with all the haste of

fear. Napoleon also repaired and garrisoned the fortifications of Klagenfurth, and establishing hospitals and magazines in the place, took up his head-quarters there. He was now only sixty leagues from Vienna.

The Austrian divisions, under Bayalitsch, retreating before General Guieux, now gained the strong position of Chiusa, where they thought themselves safe. But Massena came up in front, while Guieux attacked



the rear. The fourth demi-brigade of the line, called "The Impetuous," climbed the mountain that commands the left, and Bayalitsch was obliged to lay down his arms. His baggage, guns, and colours, were taken, and five thousand men surrendered prisoners of war. The rest of his army, composed of natives of Croatia and Carniola, disbanded

themselves, and endeavoured, by the passes of the mountains, to reach their respective villages.

Napoleon, who had hitherto advanced his army in three divisions, now saw that the moment had arrived to concentrate the whole on one point. There had hitherto existed no danger of being anywhere too weak, for the archduke's forces were disposed in a similar manner; and it was necessary that the French army should be so divided in order to ensure a retreat, and to protect the magazines and dépôts. But now, the Austrians having lost twenty-four thousand prisoners and sixty pieces of cannon; having abandoned their magazines, and sustained defeats in every quarter, had fled behind the mountains to rally. The preservation of means of retreat, or the guarding of different dépôts, was no longer of importance to the French army; but to protect the different divisions from sudden attacks and defeats in detail by the archduke's scattered forces, was necessary.

General Joubert, who had been left in the Tyrol, received orders to join the main army. He was opposed by the Austrian generals Landon and Kerpen, and had to fight his way; he nevertheless conducted the enterprise with ability and success. He conquered Landon, and by the 28th of March had compelled Kerpen to evacuate Sterzing and retreat behind the Brenner. The way was now clear before him, and calling in all his posts from the Tyrol, except twelve hundred men, he began his march towards Klagenfurth.

Bernadotte was also ordered to bring up his division, leaving only fifteen hundred men under General Friand, to keep Carniola in awe.

The archduke, on the other hand, who had already lost one-fourth of his army, weakened it still further by misconceiving the designs of the French commander-in-chief. General Kerpen had been stationed at Inspruck, expecting an attack from Joubert; but no sooner was it found that Joubert, abandoning Inspruck and the Tyrol, was proceeding to Carinthia by the valley of the Drave, than the Austrian general returned into the Tyrol. Quasdanowitch, who had hastened to the defence of Hungary, also finding no advance made in that quarter, marched rapidly into Carniola, which Napoleon now considered of little importance. Such was the state of affairs twenty days after the opening of this new campaign.

Vienna was now filled with dismay and confusion. The archduke was without the power to protect the city, which possessed no available means of self-defence; and Napoleon was only sixty leagues distant, established at Klagenfurth, with his victorious army. The Danube was covered with boats, conveying every thing that was most valuable into Hungary. The children of the royal family were sent there for safety. Among them was the future empress of France,—the Archduchess Maria



Louisa, then five years and a-half old. The people of Vienna murmured that the ministry did not make peace, though they were unable to stop the progress of the invaders. There was, however, less cause for alarm than the Austrians supposed. Napoleon had learned definitively, on the 31st of March, that he was not to expect the co-operation of the great armies of the Sambre and Meuse, and of the Rhine, upon which he had always reckoned, according to the original plan of the campaign.

Within twelve hours after the receipt of this extraordinary communication, which disappointed all his well-founded expectations of compelling the empire to a firm and lasting peace, Napoleon determined to make the best use of his present advantageous position, by concluding such a peace as his present forces enabled him to dictate. Laying aside all technical formalities, he wrote to the archduke in the following terms:—"While brave soldiers carry on war, they wish for peace. Has not the war already lasted six years? Have we not killed men enough, and inflicted sufficient sufferings on the human race? Europe has laid down the arms she took up against the French Republic. Your nation alone perseveres; yet blood is to flow more copiously than ever. Whatever be the issue, we shall kill some thousands of men on both sides; and after all we must come to an understanding, since all things have an end, not excepting vindictive passions. The Executive Directory of the French Republic communicated to his majesty the emperor its wish to put an end to the war which afflicts both nations. The intervention of the British Court defeated this measure. Is there no hope of arrangement? And must we, on account of the passions and interests of a people who are strangers to the horrors of the war, continue to slaughter each other? You, general, whose birth places you so near the throne, and above those petty passions which often actuate ministers and governments, are you disposed to merit the title of a benefactor to the human race? Do not imagine, sir, that I mean to deny that it may be possible to save Germany by force of arms; but even supposing the chances of war should become favourable to you, the country would nevertheless be ravaged. For my part, general, if the overture I have the honour to make to you should only save the life of a single man, I should feel more proud of the civic crown I should think I thereby merited, than of all the melancholy glory that the most distinguished military successes can afford."

The archduke replied, on the 2nd of April, with great courtesy and manly feeling as to the wish for peace; but declared himself not empowered to conduct the diplomatic business of the empire. "But whatever," he added, "may be the future chances of war, or whatever hopes of peace may exist, I beg you to rest convinced, general, of my esteem and particular consideration."

Napoleon had not waited for this answer. His proposal of peace was seconded by a rapid advance towards Vienna. On the 1st of April, Massena entered Freisach, after an encounter with the Austrian rear-guard, whom he drove before him, and pursued almost to Neumarck, where the archduke was stationed. Napoleon came up to the attack, and an engagement ensued, in which the Austrians were defeated with great loss. At night the French troops entered Neumarck.

The archduke now proposed a suspension of arms for twenty-four hours, hoping that auxiliaries would arrive in that time. But Napoleon allowed him no such advantage. He continued to advance through dangerous and difficult passes, while the archduke retreated on Vienna. On the 3rd, the van had a furious and final engagement in the defiles of Unzmarkt with the Austrians, who lost many men, and made no further resistance. On the 4th and 5th, Napoleon was at Scheiffing; on the 7th he reached Leoben.

Generals Bellegarde and Merfeld, with a flag of truce, now presented themselves at head-quarters, bringing a proposal from the emperor for a suspension of arms, to the furtherance of a permanent peace. The armistice was granted by Napoleon, for the term of five days; all the country, as far as the Simering, together with the strong town and citadel of Gratz, being surrendered to him, and immediately occupied by his army, which was now concentrated by the junction of Joubert and Bernadotte, who brought up their divisions about the 8th of April.







## CHAPTER X.

PRELIMINARIES OF LEOBEN—INSURRECTION OF VENICE—MASSACRE AT VERONA—NAPOLEON'S RETURN TO ITALY—DISSOLUTION OF THE VENETIAN OLIGARCHY.



EARLY on the morning of the 13th, when the armistice would have expired, the Marquis de Gallo, ambassador from Naples to Vienna, accompanied by one of the emperor's general officers, arrived at Leoben with full powers to negotiate and sign preliminaries of peace. The armistice was, therefore, extended to the 20th. General Clarke had been furnished by the Directory with full power to complete the treaty; but he was still at Turin, and Napo-

leon, without waiting for him, took the responsibility upon himself, and signed it on the part of France on the 19th of April. It is easy to imagine how unpalatable this kind of independence must have been to the Directory. The Austrian plenipotentiaries had set down as a primary concession, that "The emperor acknowledged the French Republic." "Strike that out," said Napoleon: "the Republic is like



the sun, that shines by its own light: none but the blind can fail to see it." This enthusiasm for the Republic was probably quite sincere at the time he spoke; but afterwards, when circumstances had changed with him, he thought proper to assign mere politic reasons for these strong expressions, alleging that "he had thought *in case* France should *ever again establish a monarchy*, the Emperor of Austria might then affirm that he had only acknowledged a Republic." This was, indeed, an ominous forethought, and looks as though one of the weird sisters in "Macbeth" had suddenly hovered round his head, and hoarsely whispered of a delusive crown.

The preliminaries agreed upon at Leoben were as follows:—The boundary of the Rhine was assigned to France, and the dominions of Venice were destined in some way or other to compensate to Austria for the loss of Belgium and Luxembourg. One Republic in Italy was to be acknowledged by Austria, the boundaries of which were not very strictly defined; and Mantua was to be restored to the empire in return for the strong fortress of Mentz on the Rhine.

The Directory were dissatisfied with the treaty, and blamed their general for not continuing to advance on Vienna; forgetting that he had earnestly wished to make that movement, which they alone had rendered impracticable with any safety.

On the morning when the preliminaries were signed, Napoleon was joined at Leoben by his old school-fellow, Bourrienne. They had not met since the days when the present conqueror of Italy had projected a scheme for sub-letting houses, and keeping a cabriolet. Bourrienne was immediately appointed his private secretary.

Reports were now fast arriving of the disturbed state of Venice. It will be recollected that Napoleon had declared to the equivocating Pesaro, that if any treachery were practised in his absence, the government of Venice should cease to exist. This treachery had indeed been manifested in the blackest shape. The peasantry, to the number of thirty thousand, had been secretly armed; and being excited by the government and the priesthood, made a general massacre of all the French in the Venetian territories.

A few words will explain the origin of these atrocities. When Joubert left the Tyrol to join the army at Klagenfurth, General Landon increased his force; beat the French division of fifteen hundred men, and forced them to retreat on Montebaldo. Having become master of Trent and the Tyrol, Landon raised false reports of victories achieved by the archduke, and disasters sustained by the French. Every little reverse was magnified into a great defeat. Among others, the small body of men left under General Friand in Carniola, having been forced to fall back by a party of Croats, was exaggerated into a great affair.

The Venetian oligarchy, thus misled, instantly unmasked their real feelings, and openly declared hostility to France. The French minister endeavoured to convince them of their delusion and impending ruin if they persisted. Pesaro and the leading men were so desirous of the destruction of the army of Italy, that they would not listen to any doubts of the reports which favoured their wishes. Bourrienne, who passed through Verona on the eve of these events, says, that the priests chose Easter Sunday as the day to incite the people to a general rising. On Tuesday in Easter week, the 17th of April, the tocsin sounded in Verona *after vespers*, and the French were murdered in the streets, and everywhere else that they could be found. Even the sick in the hospitals were all butchered. It is said by all the best authorities, that the number of these assassinations amounted to upwards of four hundred. The French garrison at Verona, though attacked, held out manfully, and bombarded the city in return. The garrison at Chiusa, however, was overpowered by an Austrian division, and slaughtered to a man by the infuriate priest-ridden peasants. This blood-thirsty spirit spread to Padua, Vicenza, and other places. An insurrectionary cockade was mounted at Venice: it was worn by the English minister, who also exhibited the Lion of St. Mark on his gondola; thus giving his sanction to the insurrection, though he, no doubt, beheld this mode of its commencement with horror and disgust.

This was the news which demanded the attention of Napoleon. He set off for Italy immediately. In crossing the Tagliamento on his way, he was obliged to stop on an island until a torrent caused by a violent storm subsided. A courier presently appeared on the bank of the



river, and with some difficulty reached the island. His dispatches informed Napoleon that the armies of the Rhine, and of the Sambre and Meuse, were in motion, and had commenced hostilities on the very day of his signature of the preliminaries. "It is impossible," says Bourrienne, "to describe the general's excitement on reading these dispatches. He had signed the preliminaries *only* because the French government had represented the co-operation of the armies of the Rhine as impracticable at that moment; and shortly afterwards he was informed that the co-operation was about to take place. The agitation of his mind was so great, that he for a moment conceived the idea of passing to the left bank of the Tagliamento, and breaking all engagements under some pretext or other. He persisted for a time in this resolution, which, however, Berthier and several other generals at length persuaded him to forego. He could not, however, forbear exclaiming, "What a difference would there have been in the preliminaries,—if, indeed, I had granted any terms at all."

The bitter disappointment was increased by his hearing of successful actions and rapid advances made by Hoche and Moreau. These generals, of course, suspended their operations on learning that a treaty of peace was contemplated.

It becomes necessary in this place to correct certain errors and misleading transpositions in Sir Walter Scott (with reference to the campaign of the Archduke Charles), which we would fain believe to have been occasioned by carelessness rather than intention.

First:—Sir Walter represents the movement of General Joubert from the Tyrol to Clagenfurth as a retreat, rendered necessary by the state of the country round him. It was, on the contrary, a march, made in obedience to the orders of Napoleon.

Secondly:—He represents the occupation of the Tyrol, and of Trieste and Fiume, by the Austrians, as being fraught with great danger to the French, and endangering the rear of their army. Napoleon had provided against any danger of this kind by keeping possession of the great road to Italy by Carinthia.

Thirdly:—He details the Venetian insurrection before stating that the emperor requested an armistice; and as he gives no dates of the insurrection, this leaves an erroneous impression. It took place nearly simultaneously with the signing of the preliminaries, and was of so little real importance as to be quelled before Napoleon's return.

Fourthly:—When, after stating these equivocal circumstances, he sums up by informing us that, the "archduke enumerated all these advantages to the cabinet of Vienna, and exhorted them to stand the last cast of the bloody die!" he says what cannot be true. Some of the "advantages" never happened at all; some were of no importance; and



the insurrection at Venice did not happen till *after* this alleged representation by the archduke. The emperor solicited the armistice on the 7th of April; the insurrection of Venice did not break out until the 15th or 16th.

Fifthly:—He endeavours to shew (and Mr. Lockhart, in "The Family Library," enlarges upon the error with his usual eloquence and decision) that the Archduke Charles was a great military genius; whereas he fell into every trap Napoleon set for him, or made exactly those movements which his enemy induced or anticipated.

Sixthly:—Sir Walter Scott states the number of French massacred in Verona at more than *one* hundred; and says nothing of other murders. All other accounts state the numbers at four hundred.

To proceed: as Napoleon approached Italy, his ears were continually assailed with reports of Venetian treachery. The crew of a French privateer, having taken refuge from an Austrian frigate under the batteries of the Lido, where they expected protection, were suffered to be murdered without any interposition; and when the French minister complained of the outrage, the senate not only laughed at his threats, but rewarded those who had participated in the action.

Junot had been sent forward to Venice, immediately the news of the insurrection arrived, with a letter from Napoleon to the Doge, demanding his instant choice between war and peace; and giving him only twenty-four hours to decide. When Junot arrived, the disturbances were entirely at an end. General Kilmaine had hurried to the support of the garrison of Verona, and arrived on the 21st: he was seconded by the Lombard division. On the 23rd, the astounding news of the preliminaries of peace reached Venice, and visions of the return of Napoleon with his avenging army absolutely paralysed the senate. They were lost in stupor, and could form no decision whether to resist or submit. The insurgents at Verona and elsewhere, accepted on their knees the conditions offered by the French generals; their panic was increased by the news that General Victor was approaching from Rome: the peasantry were disarmed and sent to their homes to await the result.

Junot, on his arrival, was immediately admitted into the hitherto august and dreadful presence of the senate. He made the lofty walls resound with his threats of speedy vengeance and retribution, till the members shook on their ancient seats of power. They, who held supreme dominion as ministers of a despotic government, which had maintained its remorseless authority over mens' bodies and souls during nearly six hundred years; a government of awful visitations in secret places, from whose demoniacal eye no privacies of domestic life were secure, from whose deadly suspicions no secrets were hidden; a government rendered



immortal in chronicles, and histories, and dramas, and romances,—fictions which never yet embodied a fraction of its horrors, its racking realities, its dark dungeon-deaths by poniard, starving, or the slow degrees of poison and the mind's prolonged despair;—this assemblage, exercising a power and influence resembling those of fiends, seeing (for the first time) a stronger power above them, and seeing it by the flashing light of an impending sword, became, in a moment, and without a single struggle, more abject than the serpent, which is not humbled till its head is bruised; and, like worms, these tyrants crawled along the ground, and sued for mercy, and permission to lick the dust from the sword-bearer's feet.

The envoys bearing the humble apologies of the senate to Napoleon, met him at Gratz. He received them with deadly composure, his look and bearing being indicative of a fixed purpose. They shuddered as they ventured to touch upon the subject of a pecuniary atonement, amounting to eight million francs, offered by the senate. "If you



could proffer me the mines of Peru," said Napoleon; "if you could strew the whole district with gold, it could never atone for the French blood which has been so inhumanly and treacherously spilt."



On the 3rd of May, war was declared on the part of France against Venice. Napoleon issued the following order of the day, dated at Palma Nuova :—"The commander-in-chief requires the French minister to leave Venice; orders the different agents of the Republic of Venice to leave Lombardy, and the Venetian Terra Firma, within four-and-twenty hours! He orders the different generals of divisions to treat the Venetian troops as enemies, and to destroy the Lion of St. Mark in all the towns of the Terra Firma."

The mere appearance of this manifesto was sufficient. The Venetian government did not wait to be destroyed, but hastened with most abject zeal to render up their power, and dissolve the very form of their once proud fabric of tyranny. The Doge put off his crown; the senate dissolved itself; the blood-stained inquisitors, and the dreadful Council of Three, all laid down their absolute offices with disgusting humility. Being done with, the world seemed disposed to forget simultaneously that such a government had ever existed. The enormity fell without a sound, and went like a shadow into oblivion.

A French division was called in to preserve the city from anarchy. On the 11th of May, a tri-coloured flag was hoisted in the Place of St. Mark; a popular constitution declared, and a provisional government established. The whole of the Terra Firma had already declared itself free, and adopted the principles of the French Revolution. The Venetian fleet was manned, and sent to Toulon. General Gentili proceeded to Corfu, and took possession. Pesaro fled to Vienna.



With regard to the peasantry who had committed the horrible massacres which have been related, Napoleon did not visit them with any vengeance; considering them only as the instruments which an iniquitous government had rendered half frantic to suit its designs. The rulers, and not the people, suffered for the crimes which had been committed. Several disorderly acts were, however, perpetrated by the French soldiers during the foregoing transactions, notwithstanding Napoleon's efforts to prevent them. The bank at Verona was plundered, among other violences of the same nature. Colonel Andrieux, and Bouquet, a commissary, were accused of being accessory to the robbery, and compelled to refund all that was found in their possession.

Bernadotte was despatched to Paris, where he presented all the trophies taken from the Venetians. Venice was now a free state, though entirely in the power of the French.





## CHAPTER XI.

NAPOLEON GOES TO MILAN—MONTEBELLO—JOSEPHINE—LOVE-LETTERS—GENOA—ANEC-  
DOTES—PROTRACTED NEGOCIATIONS—LIBERATION OF LA FAYETTE—UNSETTLED STATE  
OF PARIS—AUGEREAU AND LAVALETTE—CISALPINE REPUBLIC—THE VALTELINE.



NAPOLEON had repaired to Milan after settling the affairs of Venice, and took up his abode in the beautiful castello, or palace, of Montebello. It was situated five leagues from Milan, upon a sloping hill which commands an extensive view of the rich plain of Lombardy. The Marquis de Gallo, as Austrian plenipotentiary, lived at the distance of half a league, the negotiation concerning the peace being still under discussion.

Napoleon was very shortly joined by Josephine. It appears that she had visited him at Genoa in the December of 1796, travelling from France under the guardianship

of Junot; but they now enjoyed an Italian summer together, and this was, perhaps, the happiest of their lives. The ladies of the highest rank, and all those celebrated for beauty or accomplishments, vied with each other in paying homage to Josephine, who received them with an easy dignity and grace not unbecoming that regal courtesy which she was subsequently called upon to exercise.

Some of the letters of Napoleon to Josephine, during his early campaigns in Italy, are interesting, inasmuch as they assist in giving an insight to his character, through a medium in which there was nothing concealed. Certainly, these love-letters were never intended to be seen by any third person; and, certainly, they ought not to have been read by illiberal eyes, and their passionate expressions coldly gauged for political purposes, and cried out upon as "indelicate!" Sir Walter Scott, echoed, as usual, by Mr. Lockhart, making no allowances for an excitable temperament, living in a constant state of exciting action; cut off from all the domestic affections, and not seeking a substitute in any kind of licentiousness; has thought fit to instil an unhealthy tone of prudery into the minds of English readers, by affecting to be shocked at the ardent expressions in an Italian love-letter, written by a man who had been compelled to leave his wife the third day after their marriage!\*

\* The reader will be interested in the following, for the reasons we have previously given, and also as it comprises a fair general specimen of the style and tone of feeling displayed in these letters:—

"By what art is it that you have been able to captivate all my faculties, and to concentrate in yourself my moral existence? It is a magic, my sweet love, which will finish only with my life. To live for Josephine: there is the history of my life. I am trying to reach you—I am dying to be near you. Fool that I am, I do not perceive that I increase the distance between us. What lands, what countries separate us! What a time before you read these weak expressions of a troubled soul, in which you reign! Ah, my adorable wife, I know not what fate awaits me, but if it keep me much longer from you, it will be insupportable—my courage will not go so far. There was a time when I was proud of my courage; and sometimes, when contemplating the ills that man could do me—the fate which destiny could reserve for me, I fixed my eyes stedfastly on the most unheard-of misfortunes without a frown—without alarm; but now the idea that my Josephine may be ill at ease, the idea that she may be ill, and, above all, the cruel, fatal thought that she may love me less, withers my soul, stops my blood, renders me sad, cast down, and leaves me *not even* the courage of fury and despair. Formerly, I used often to say to myself, men could not hurt him who could die without regret; but now, to die without being loved by thee, to die without that certainty, is the torment of hell; it is the lively and striking image of absolute annihilation—I feel as if I were stifled. My incomparable companion! thou, whom fate has destined to make along with me the painful journey of life, the day on which I shall cease to possess thy heart, will be the day on which parched Nature will be to me without warmth or vegetation.

"I stop, my sweet love: my soul is sad, my body is fatigued, my head is giddy, men disgust me, I ought to hate them—they separate me from my beloved.

"I am at Port Maurice, near Oneille; to-morrow I shall be at Albenga; the two



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VENETIAN INSURRECTION.

We quote the following well-painted description from the animated pen of Sir Walter Scott. The theme suits his genius, for certainly the facts are more like romance than history.

"Negotiations proceeded amid gaiety and pleasure. The various ministers and envoys of Austria, of the Pope, of the Kings of Sardinia and Naples, of the Duke of Parma, of the Swiss cantons, of several of the princes of Germany; the throng of generals, of persons in authority, of deputies of towns; with the daily arrival and despatch of numerous courtiers, the bustle of important business, mingled with fêtes and entertainments, with balls and with hunting parties, gave the picture of a splendid court, and the assemblage was called accordingly by the Italians, the Court of Montebello.

"The sovereigns of this diplomatic and military court made excursions to the Lago Maggiore, to Lago di Como, to the Borromean Islands, and occupied at pleasure the villas which surround those delicious regions. Every town,—every village desired to distinguish itself by some peculiar mark of homage and respect to him, whom they named the Liberator of Italy."

The affairs of Genoa demanded the attention of Napoleon early in the summer. A spirit of liberty had arisen in that state, and the Doge had granted a committee to propose alterations in the constitution. The three state inquisitors, or censors, as they were called, alarmed at innovation, incited the poorer class of the people, by the usual application of stimulants to their superstition, till they became furious against the new doctrines. On the 22nd of May, the two parties came to open hostilities; and in the disorder which ensued, the French minister, who had purposely abstained from interference, narrowly escaped being murdered. Several French families were placed in great danger; many individuals of the French nation were massacred, and many detained prisoners. Napoleon immediately sent his aide-de-camp, Lavalette, to Genoa; insisting on the liberation of the French, and the disarming of the infuriate mob, among which were a great number of porters and colliers. The aristocratic party having now come into collision with a power they could not resist, yielded to necessity. A deputation was sent to Montebello to settle the constitution, and it was established on a democratic basis on the 6th of June. Napoleon strenuously urged moderation, and

armies are in motion. We are endeavouring to deceive each other: victory to the most skilful! I am pretty well satisfied with Beaulieu: if he alarm me much, he is a better man than his predecessor. I shall beat him, I hope, in good style. Do not be uneasy; love me as your eyes,—but that is not enough,—as yourself, more than yourself, than your thought, your mind, your sight, your all. Sweet love, forgive me, I am sinking. Nature is weak for him who feels strongly—for him whom you love!"—*Published in a "Tour through the Netherlands," &c., by CHARLES TENNANT, Esq.*





was highly displeased when the people, in their joy at the news of their revolution being established, committed several excesses, such as burning the Golden Book, and furiously demolishing the statue of Andrea Doria, the founder of their government, whom he justly venerated as a truly great man. He required that the provisional magistrates should repair the statue. He also resisted the persecution of their discomfited priests, and the exclusion of the nobles from public offices; pointedly remarking, that this was practising the very same injustice towards the nobles that they had hitherto shewn to the people. The government was at length settled according to his suggestions. We can believe it very possible that Napoleon found quite as much interest in working these and similar measures, as in the complex movements of a campaign. He seems to have prided himself still more upon his genius as a diplomatist and legislator, than as a military commander; and in both these characters we are to consider him henceforward.

Bourrienne relates, that while Napoleon was occupied with the organisation of Venice, Genoa, and Milan, he used to complain of the want of *men*. "Good God!" said he, "how rare *men* are! There are eighteen millions in Italy, and I have with difficulty found two real ones,—Dandolo and Melzi." These two actual "men" were immediately employed in important services, and justified his estimation.

Bourrienne also relates an amusing story of a plan which Napoleon fell upon to get through his almost interminable correspondence at this period. "To satisfy himself that people wrote too much, and lost valuable time in trifling and useless answers, he told me to open only the letters which came by extraordinary couriers, and to leave all the rest for three weeks in the basket. I declare that at the end of that time it was unnecessary to reply to four-fifths of these communications." Some were themselves answers; others contained requests for favours which had been granted since they were written; others, complaints of grievances redressed before they were written; provisions, pay, clothing, reinforcements, money, promotion, were the subjects of numbers, and had all been settled before the three-weeks' budget was opened. Napoleon laughed heartily at the success of this experiment with miscellaneous correspondents.

Eugene Beauharnois came to Montebello about this period. He was now seventeen years of age, and was appointed one of the aides-de-camp to the commander-in-chief. Napoleon was always much attached to him.

Meantime, the negotiations with the Austrian government were tediously protracted. The emperor, no doubt, found the whole proceeding extremely unpalatable, especially as he was aware that the firmness of Napoleon was not to be shaken by any means he could adopt. It ought not to be omitted, that while Napoleon was at Gratz, he received from the Marquis de Gallo a copy of the preliminaries ratified by the emperor. It is said that he at the same time received from one of the plenipotentiaries, authorised by the emperor, an offer of a sovereignty of two hundred and fifty thousand souls (souls!), in Germany, for himself and family, at the conclusion of the peace; which principality, it was hinted, "would place him beyond the reach of Republican ingratitude." Napoleon smiled; sent his thanks to the emperor, but said he wished for no greatness or wealth, unless conferred on him by the French people, adding, "and with that support, believe me, sir, my ambition will be satisfied."

As the negotiations progressed, it became no longer a secret that the states of Venice were to be made the sacrifice, in order to adjust all differences between the two contending parties. The Directory insisted on one article which Napoleon zealously enforced: it was the libera-



moment, a striking change in Italian manners may be dated. Public spirit, and aspirations for liberty, rose with the creation of this independent state.

Shortly afterwards, Napoleon authorised the people of the Valteline to incorporate themselves with the Cisalpine Republic. Their beautiful country naturally belongs to Italy, but had been subject for nearly three centuries to the Grisons; and the inhabitants, oppressed by their dependence on foreign masters, whose language, customs, manners, and religion, were unlike their own, made Napoleon their mediator. After some hesitation about interference in this affair, because it concerned the internal economy of Switzerland, he proposed to the Grisons to give the Valteline equal rights with themselves; but this was indignantly rejected. The differences were finally concluded as we have stated, to the great joy of the Valteline. This was the severe conduct towards Switzerland to which the intercepted letter of the emperor alluded.







## CHAPTER XII.

PICHEGRU—BABÆUF—EIGHTEENTH FRUCTIDOR—MOREAU—COUNT COBENTZEL—TREATY OF CAMPO-FORMIO—DEATH OF GENERAL HOCHÉ—NAPOLEON AT MANTUA—TAKES LEAVE OF THE ARMY AT MILAN—DEPARTURE—ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTIONS ON HIS JOURNEY—RASTADT—ARRIVES AT PARIS—GRAND FÊTES.



THE French officer whose treason had been discovered by Napoleon, was his ancient tutor at Brienne, General Pichegru, the conqueror of Holland. Proofs clear and undeniable had fallen into Napoleon's hands, of a correspondence between this general and the Bourbon princes, which had been carried on since the year 1795. Great offers of money and rank had been made by the princes, in return for the general's promised betrayal of his

army to them, and his march upon Paris to proclaim Louis XVIII. These proofs were discovered among the papers of Count de Launay d'Entraigues, arrested at Venice as a well-known suspicious character.

Circumstances had prevented the execution of these schemes. The vacillation and imbecility of the Prince of Condé had, fortunately for the Republic, prevented a movement at the dangerous moment; but, on one occasion, it was now certain that Pichegru had purposely deranged and disappointed the plans of the campaign, and sacrificed a portion of his troops to the enemy. He was superseded in his command; and Napoleon learned with surprise that Moreau, who now commanded the army of the Rhine, had known these acts of treachery previously to his own discovery of them, but had never communicated the facts to the Directory. This he learned from General Desaix, then attached to the army of the Rhine, who visited him in July from an ardent desire to become acquainted with the commander-in-chief of the army of Italy, with whom he now commenced that friendship which lasted till death. When Napoleon told him of Pichegru's treachery, Desaix informed him that Moreau had for months possessed the knowledge of it through the capture of a waggon at Kinglin, but had kept it strictly secret from a dislike to betray his former friend.

The delay had enabled Pichegru to place himself in a position as formidable in the political, as that which he had previously occupied in the military world. He was now president of the Council of Five Hundred. An undoubted Royalist, Barbé Marbois, was at the same time president of the Council of Ancients; and the elections in May, 1797, had altogether given a formidable proportion to the numbers of the Royalist party in the legislative chambers.

The advantage obtained by that party did not rest here. Barthelemy, newly elected one of the Directory, was a Royalist; and Carnot, though a Republican at heart, yet, from some mistaken principle, or from dissatisfaction with the measures of government, joined with him in opposition to the three other Directors. The executive was therefore divided, while the legislature was strongly Royalist. A party of Royalists, called, from the name of the street in which their meetings were held, "The Clichy Club," composed of violent partisans of the Bourbons, watched over the times, and regulated the movement they soon expected. It was evident that the Republic was again in danger, and once more required the aid of force for its preservation. This was the crisis for which Napoleon held himself ready.

That a government, established not two years before, professedly by and for the people, should have so little hold upon popular confidence and affection, as to need this questionable support a second time, would be unaccountable, if we did not see clearly that the people, the *millions*, though greatly ameliorated in condition, though raised from a state of vassalage and slavery to one in which hope and progression were before them, had yet no equality of good, no acknowledgment of their right to

share the gifts of bounteous nature with the *hundreds*. Still there was a necessity for toil,—not only healthful, needful labour, but hard toil; still there was starvation by the side of luxury, penury contrasted with opulence; still God's earth was monopolised, and men had to labour to produce the fruits they were forbidden to taste. While these things last, a government must never trust for its support to the enthusiasm of the *millions*. They have hitherto been roused only when cheated into a hope that the time is come for these things to end. A formidable conspiracy headed by Babœuf in the previous year, had been their last effort. It was betrayed by one of its conductors, and punished with deadly severity; the sufferers dying like martyrs. During the struggle now about to ensue between the Royalists and the established Republican government, the people remained entirely passive.

There was scarcely any class with whom the Directory were popular. They were accused of petty and meddling enactments, ostentation, weak and indecisive measures. The army, however, continued firm in its allegiance. The Directory, in their anxiety, sent for General Hoche,





with a detachment of twelve thousand men, from the army of the Sambre and Meuse. Hoche was a young officer of great ability and enterprise, ardent for renown, and beloved by all his soldiers, who followed him with devoted enthusiasm. He was looked upon as a man of the highest promise, and worthy of all confidence.

Napoleon, who foresaw another opportunity of gaining influence in the state by the management of rising events, was indisposed to allow one of so much ability as Hoche the opportunity of wielding them. He therefore availed himself of the application of the Directory for his aid, and superseded Hoche by sending Augereau, whom he well knew to be a brave and skilful soldier, a true Republican, but in other respects a sufficiently stupid man. Meantime, he maintained a constant correspondence with the Directors.

On the 17th of Fructidor, answering to the 3rd of September, the Royalists in the councils, who had increased their guard to eight hundred men, proposed measures which shewed they had brought their plans to maturity. They went so far as to decree the arrest of the three Directors, Barras, Rewbell, and La Reveillere, on the following day, if the regular troops were not removed from the neighbourhood of Paris. The Directors gave them no time to effect their purposes. During the night, the troops under the command of Augereau were marched into the city, and posted at every avenue of the Tuileries. Before morning they had taken possession of the halls of the councils, and had arrested at their houses Pichegru, and all the principals of the Royalist party, with the exception of Carnot, who escaped. The remainder of the members, on assembling in the morning, found the military in possession of the Tuileries, and were told that the detection of a formidable conspiracy had obliged the government to alter their place of meeting; they were accordingly invited to repair to the Odeon, and the School of Medicine. They complained loudly of military violence, but were obliged to submit. The proofs of Pichegru's treason, and explanations of the meaning of these extraordinary proceedings, were laid before them immediately. Two new Directors were elected, the vacancies in the legislative bodies supplied, and a law of public safety passed, which condemned the persons arrested, to the number of two hundred, to banishment. The Directorial government was once more saved, and the Royalists defeated.

When all was over, Moreau tardily produced those papers concerning Pichegru's treachery, which he had so long possessed. His conduct, in so long concealing them, exposed him to severe animadversions; particularly as, in now disclosing them, he seemed to serve no good purpose, and only to cast additional obloquy upon a man already overwhelmed with disgrace.

Bourrienne says, that Napoleon was intoxicated with joy at the overthrow of the Royalist plans on the 18th of Fructidor; but adds, that he would have favoured the Bourbons had they offered him power and influence. This is one of those short-sighted, narrow-minded, and superficial remarks so often found in Bourrienne. Napoleon associated the return of the Bourbons with the degradation of France. He rightly conceived of such an event as one that would throw back France into the inferior condition, to emerge from which she had done such deeds, and endured such sufferings. Now, the passion of Napoleon's life was the glory of France: with the glory of France his own personal ambition was interwoven. His history, taking it only up to the point to which we have brought it, clearly shews this truth. He always felt that France and he were mutually to raise the glory of each other. In using the term *glory*, we do not mean to panegyrisé and exalt. The *glory*, and the true and lasting *welfare*, of a country, are almost always opposed. One nation considers its glory has been achieved in obtaining an immense extent of territories; but does all this earth make the people happy? Another nation reaps glory by its wars and successful battles by land and by sea: does all this loss of blood make people happy? Another nation glories in its commerce and its wealth; but does all this coin and currency, even when combined with those vast territories and those glorious wars, ensure a sufficiency of food and clothing for the people;—render them intelligent, and enable them to be happy?

The effects of the events of the 18th of Fructidor were quickly visible in the negociations in Italy. Count Cobentzel was sent from Austria to Napoleon before the end of September, furnished with ample powers, and bearing a letter from the emperor, in which he expressed to the French general his desire to conclude a peace. Napoleon was at present in Passeriano, and there the business at last progressed in earnest.

The Directory now heightened their tone. They wanted to revolutionise all Italy. They insisted that neither Mantua nor Venice should be given up to Austria, yet that France should retain Belgium and the boundary of the Rhine. At one period, the negociations were nearly broken off, and a declaration of war on the point of being the end of them altogether; at another, Napoleon had again tendered his resignation, finding himself thwarted and surrounded by spies of the government; but he was earnestly requested to continue in their service. The month of October had arrived, and the appearance of an early winter decided the business. On the 13th of October, the mountains were seen covered with snow. A winter campaign was not to be risked. "It is settled," he said to Bourrienne: "I will make peace. Venice shall be exchanged for the boundary of the Rhine, and thus be made to pay for the war: let the Directory and the lawyers say what they like."



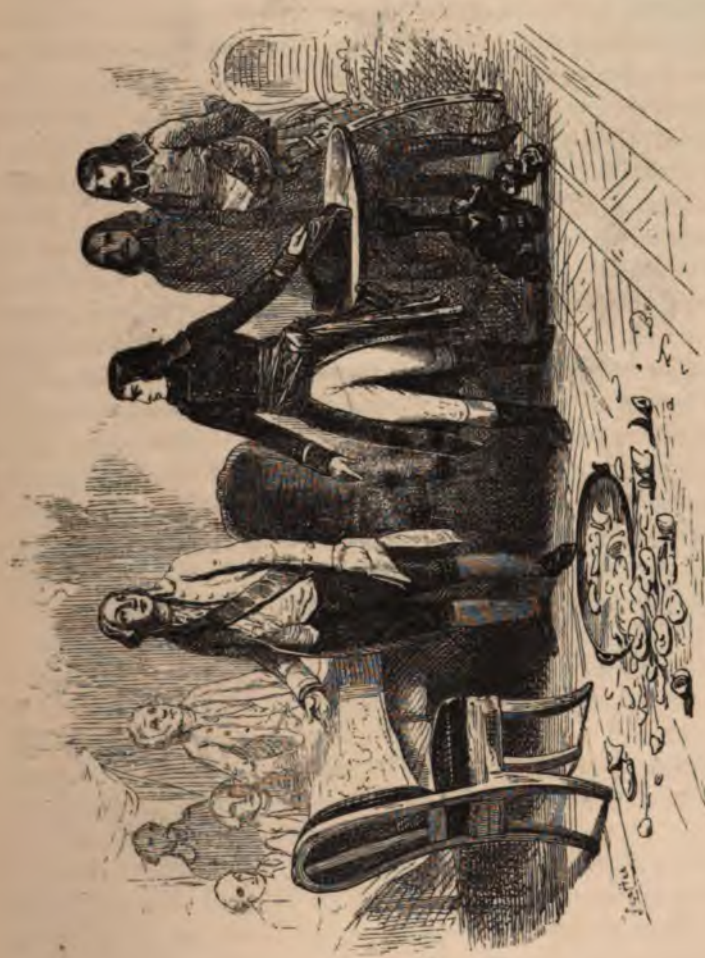
The principal articles of the peace upon which he insisted, were as follows:—The boundary of the Rhine, with Mentz, to be ceded to France; Mantua to be ceded to the Cisalpine Republic; Austria to acknowledge the Cisalpine Republic as an independent state; part of the Venetian territories and the Ionian Islands to belong to France; Venice and the rest of her territories to Austria.

The final conference between the contracting parties took place on the 16th of October. Count Cobentzel went over all the old ground again; insisted on retaining Mantua and the line of the Adige; and, finally, threatened to bring down the Russians if the war was renewed, all the blame of which he laid on the French general.

Napoleon upon this, rose from his seat with outward calmness but restrained indignation, and taking from the mantel-piece a porcelain vase which Count Cobentzel prized as a present from the Empress Catherine, said, "Well, the truce is at an end, and war is declared; but remember, before the end of autumn I will shatter your monarchy as I shatter this brittle affair!" Saying this, he dashed it furiously down, and the carpet was covered with the fragments. He then bowed, and retired. M. de Cobentzel sat still as if petrified with the visible semblance of a scattered dominion; but M. de Gallo, his colleague, as Napoleon related when he afterwards told the story, was much more conciliating, and followed the French general to his carriage, trying to persuade him to return; "bowing and ducking his head," added Napoleon, "and in so pitiful an attitude, that, in spite of my anger, I could not help laughing excessively at it as I drove away."







NAPOLEON'S INTERVIEW WITH COUNT COBENTZEL.



Count Cobentzel, seriously alarmed, sent after him, granting all his conditions. The treaty of peace was signed at Campo-Formio on the following day. In taking the oath of allegiance to Austria, the ex-Doge of Venice sank insensible on the ground, and died a few days afterwards.

The peace was unsatisfactory to the Directory. The partition of Venice is branded as an infamous transaction by Scott. The Directory had thwarted the designs of Napoleon so entirely, that when they afterwards complained, it is no wonder he was irritated, and no wonder if the idea of independent action entered his mind. The partition of Venice, which desired, and had assumed, a free position, was in itself, of course, iniquitous. But there seems to have been no alternative between giving Venice to Austria, and beginning the war again in the end of autumn. When Napoleon is blamed, his own words in the island of the Tagliamento should be remembered:—"What a difference there would have been in the preliminaries,—if, indeed, I had granted any." To unite the whole of Italy, and make of it one great Republic (a plan which continued throughout his life a darling scheme of Napoleon's), had already entered his mind, and made him less earnest concerning temporary measures.

The English government had sent over Lord Malmesbury to Lisle to treat of peace, at the period of the negotiations with Austria. There seemed no longer any object of contention, and the terms were nearly agreed upon; when the Directory, intoxicated by their victory on the 18th of Fructidor, raised their demands, and the conferences were, in consequence, broken off. It is very probable that the peace would not have been suffered to be of long continuance; but this time it was the fault of France that war was continued. Having been wantonly attacked by coalesced powers, and having beaten off their assailants, the rulers of France became insolent in their triumph, and would not listen to the proposal to desist, which their antagonists, heartily tired of the blows they had brought upon themselves, began to make. We often see such conduct on the part of school-boys. It is all very natural, and would be quite proper, if rulers would fight their own battles, instead of leaving all the blows to fall on their subjects.

The treaty required that Mentz should be given up at a congress at Rastadt, since the German confederation must become parties with the emperor in this important session. Napoleon, therefore, made preparations to attend the congress. He returned first to Milan by way of Mantua. At Mantua he was erecting a monument to the memory of Virgil: and there also he celebrated a melancholy solemnity; a military funeral in honour of General Hoche, who had just died suddenly at Mentz, in the flower of his age and reputation; not without suspicions of having been poisoned by the enemies of France.





A person (and he must have been one of very fine insight) who saw Napoleon for the first time on the foregoing occasion, described his impressions of him in the following letter, which appeared in one of the Paris journals, in December, 1797 :—" With lively interest and extreme attention I have observed this extraordinary man, who has performed such great deeds, and about whom there is something which seems to indicate that his career is not yet closed. I found him very like his portraits—little, thin, pale, with an air of fatigue, but not of ill health, as has been reported of him. He appears to me to listen with more abstraction than interest, and that he was more occupied with what he was thinking of, than with what was said to him. There is great intelligence in his countenance, along with which may be marked an air of habitual meditation, which reveals nothing of what is passing within. In that thinking head, in that bold mind, it is impossible not to believe that some daring designs are engendering *which will have their influence on the destinies of Europe.*"

Napoleon took leave of the Italians in an energetic address, dated from Milan. There also he took leave of the army. The following order of the day was issued on the eve of his departure :—" Soldiers, I set out to-morrow for Germany. Separated from the army, I shall sigh for the moment of rejoining it, and braving fresh dangers. Whatever post government may assign to the soldiers of the army of Italy, they

will always be the worthy supporters of liberty, and of the glory of the French name. Soldiers, when you talk of the princes you have conquered, of the nations you have set free, and the battles you have fought in two campaigns, say,—‘In the next two we shall do still more!’”

Napoleon was greeted with enthusiasm during his journey to Rastadt. On entering the Valteline, he was met by three parties of young girls, dressed in the three colours of the national flag, who presented him with a crown, on which was inscribed the sentence which had proclaimed the liberty of their country,—“One nation cannot be subject to another.” At Geneva he was received with honours. He passed through several Swiss towns, Berne among others, and his presence seemed to calm any fears that might have been entertained.



He remained a very short time at the Congress of Rastadt, where disputes and discussions arose from the dissatisfaction of the German princes, who loudly complained of the surrender of Mentz. He left the congress as soon as the French troops had been put in possession of that fortress, and repaired to Paris, travelling through France incognito, and alighted at his small house in the Chaussée d'Antin, Rue Chantierine. The name of the Rue de la Victoire was given to the Rue Chantierine. “It is needless to add,” says a biographer, “that it no longer bears that name; but victory and defeat, and a thousand other recollections, will remain for ever engraved upon it, in all the bright and solemn obscurity of a dream.”

The arrival of Napoleon created a great sensation in the capital. The streets through which he was expected to pass were thronged with people, and wherever he was seen the air was filled with shouts of “Long live the general of the army of Italy!” The Directory honoured

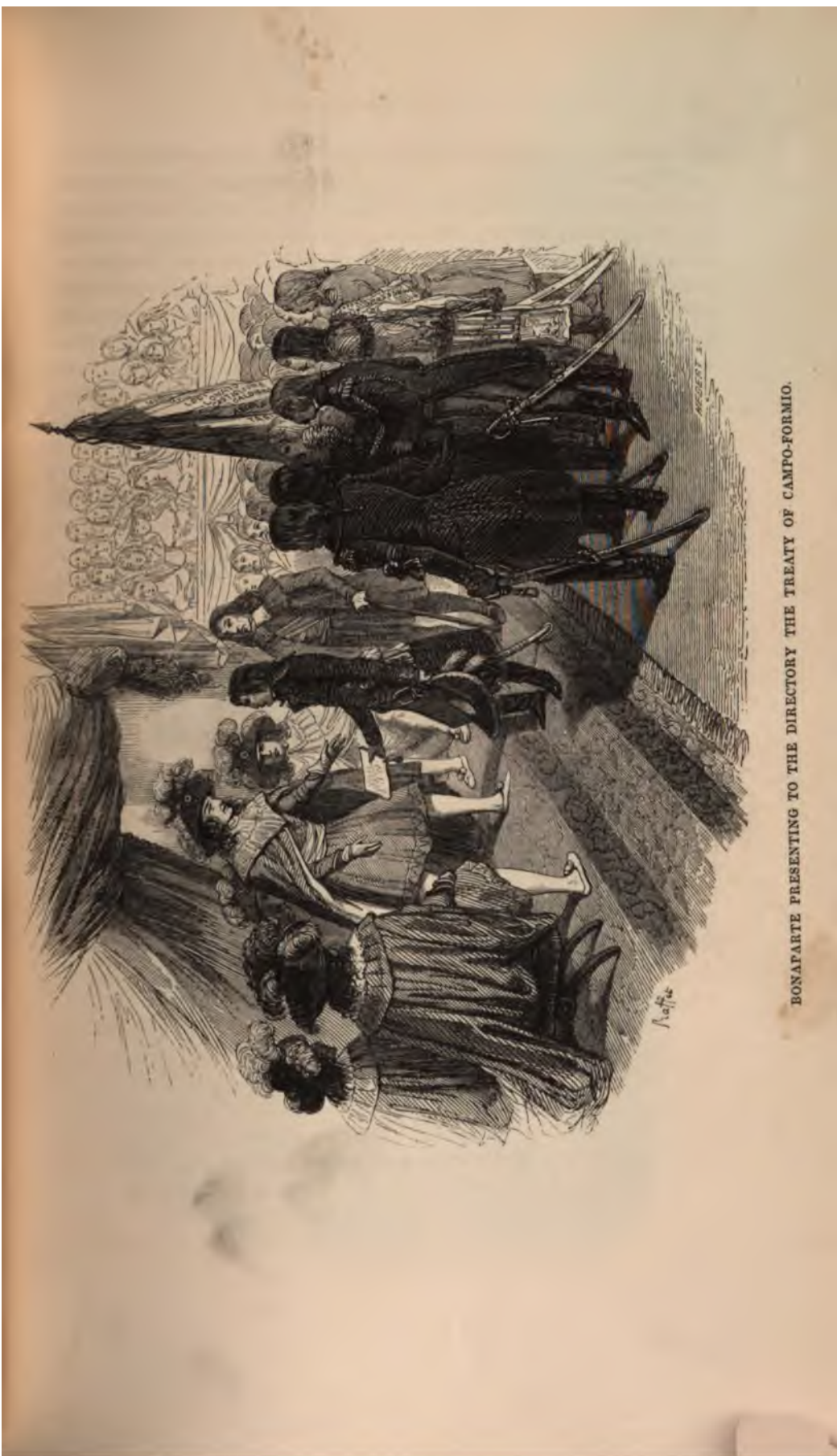
their general, "who had filled all Europe with the renown of his arms, and given the first stunning blow to the coalition," with a public reception in the great court of the Luxembourg Palace, which was splendidly decorated for the occasion. The members and officers of the government were ranged in a large amphitheatre at the further end; the windows were crowded with ladies; the court was thronged with people. Opposite to the principal entrance stood the altar of the country, surrounded by the statues of Liberty, Equality, and Peace; the whole of the great court being roofed and canopied with the standards taken in the Italian wars. When, introduced by Talleyrand, the minister for foreign affairs, Napoleon entered, the whole assemblage rose, and every head was uncovered. The oration made by Talleyrand was heard with impatience, so anxious was every one to hear the conqueror of Italy. He rose at the conclusion of the speech, and presented the treaty of peace. His air and manner were quiet and retiring; he spoke, in few words, and with a firm voice, as follows:—"Citizen Directors! the French people to gain their freedom had to contend with kings. To obtain a constitution founded on reason, the prejudices of eighteen centuries were to be overcome. The constitution of the year Three, with your aid, has triumphed over all those obstacles. Religion, feudalism, and royalism, have successively governed Europe for twenty ages; but from the peace which you have just concluded, dates the era of representative governments. You have effected the organisation of the great nation, the territory of which is only circumscribed because nature herself has fixed its limits. You have done more. The two most lovely portions of Europe, heretofore so celebrated for the sciences, the arts, and the great men cradled in them, behold with glad expectation the Genius of Liberty rising from the tombs of their ancestors. Such are the pedestals on which destiny is about to place two powerful nations.

"I have the honour to lay before you the treaty signed at Campo-Formio, and ratified by his majesty the emperor. When the happiness of the French people shall be established on the best organic laws, the whole of Europe will then become free."

Barras followed with a long discourse of extravagant laudation, at the conclusion of which he threw himself into the arms of the general, who, as Bourrienne says, "was not much pleased with such affected displays," but had to receive the same fraternal embrace from the rest of the Directors. The jealousy with which he well knew he was regarded by them, and which he by this time felt was very well founded, must have made the hollow show of amity excessively disgusting.

The two councils a few days afterwards gave a splendid banquet to Napoleon in the gallery of the Louvre: the walls were covered with the masterpieces of art which he had sent from Italy.





BONAPARTE PRESENTING TO THE DIRECTORY THE TREATY OF CAMPO-FORMIO.



In the midst of this adulation, increased, doubtless, by his modest demeanour and his youth, which added to the wonder he excited, Napoleon lived in the most retired manner, and in the society only of his intimate friends. He avoided the public eye as much as possible; he went frequently to the theatre, but always sat concealed from sight, and though the audience called for him, which they were sure to do, if they discovered he was in the house, he never came forward. He sent to the manager of the opera on one occasion, requesting the representation of two of the best pieces of the time, in which several popular performers played, "on the same night, if possible." The courtly manager promptly replied that, "nothing that the conqueror of Italy wished for was *impossible*, as he had, long ago, erased that word from the dictionary." This flattering answer afforded Napoleon a hearty laugh. He went to the performance, maintaining his usual privacy, but he was discovered and loudly called upon to come forward.





The honour which he esteemed the most, was his nomination as a member of the Institute. He frequently attended the meetings, sitting beside his friend Monge. He was also fond of appearing in the costume worn by the members.

Of his appearance, general conduct, and the impression he conveyed, Madame de Stael gives the following subtle, and, perhaps, very true account:—"He was one for whom the admiration which could not be refused to him, was always mingled with a portion of fear. He was different in his manner from other men, and neither pleased nor angry, kind nor severe, after the common fashion of humanity. He appeared to live for the execution of his own plans, and to consider others only in so far as they were connected with, and could advance or oppose them. He estimated his fellow-mortals no otherwise than as they could be useful to his views; and, with a precision of intelligence which seemed intuitive from its rapidity, he penetrated the sentiments of those whom it was worth his while to study. Napoleon did not then possess the tone of light conversation in society; probably his mind was too much burthened, or too proud to stoop to adopt that mode of pleasing, and there was a stiffness and reserve of manner, which was, perhaps, adopted for the purpose of keeping people at a distance. His look had the same character. When he thought himself closely observed, he had the power of discharging from his countenance all expression save that of a vague and indefinite smile, and presenting to the curious investigator the fixed eyes and rigid features of a bust of marble.

"When he talked with the purpose of pleasing, Napoleon often told anecdotes of his life in a very pleasing manner; when silent, he had something disdainful in the expression of his face; when disposed to be quite at ease, he was rather vulgar. His natural tone of feeling seemed to be a sense of internal superiority, and of secret contempt for the world in which he lived, the men with whom he acted, and even the very object which he pursued."





### CHAPTER XIII.

PROJECTED EXPEDITIONS—POLITICS IN PARIS—MADAME DE STAEL—AFFAIRS OF ROME AND SWITZERLAND—NAPOLEON RELINQUISHES THE INVASION OF ENGLAND—EGYPT—EMBARKATION AT TOULON—SURRENDER OF MALTA—NELSON—FRENCH ARMY LANDS AT ALEXANDRIA—THE DESERT.



NAPOLEON began to long for action again, and to feel his situation awkward and precarious. He failed in an endeavour to be nominated one of the Directory. His age was much below the legal term fixed; but he had hoped to overcome this difficulty. His popularity did not gratify him in the

smallest degree. In answer to a remark upon the pleasure he must feel at his fellow-citizens so eagerly crowding to see him, he replied, "The people would crowd just as fast to see me if I were going to the scaffold!" It was under the influence of these circumstances that his thoughts

again turned to the East, and that he began to persuade himself, and the members of the government, that the true point at which to attack England was in Egypt. He argued, that by the conquest of Egypt, and its conversion into a French colony, the commerce of India would be diverted from the circuitous route by the Cape of Good Hope; and that France, instead of England, would command the great market for the supply of all Europe with the commodities of the east. "The Mediterranean," he said, "will then become a French lake." Beyond these immediate advantages, vague and extensive plans, stretching onwards to the formation of an empire eastward from Egypt, and the conquest of India, floated before the imagination of Napoleon. What share he might personally take in its government, he left to circumstance and fate.

The Directory, on the other hand, were restless, from the necessity of finding employment for the high-soaring and dangerous spirits called into activity by the constant wars into which the Republic had been forced; and among all these, they of course chiefly dreaded Napoleon. Their first scheme was to make a descent upon England, and to place him at the head of the invading army; and their counsels fluctuated between this project, and the Egyptian expedition. Meanwhile they gave him no adequate reward for his important services.\*

We have repeatedly noticed the refusal on the part of Napoleon to accept presents, in any form, from the sovereigns he conquered. His exactions, however unjustifiable, were all for France, never for himself. He had not when he returned to Paris on this occasion, three hundred thousand francs in his possession, though he had transmitted fifty millions to the state. "I might easily," he said to Las Casas, "have brought back ten or twelve millions. I never made out any accounts, nor was I ever asked for any." It was naturally supposed that some great public

\* Napoleon presented a flag to the Directory, on which were inscribed in the simple form of a catalogue, the deeds of the campaign of Italy. The flag was placed in the hall of the public sittings of the Directory. The inscription ran as follows:—

"One hundred and fifty thousand prisoners; one hundred and seventy standards; five hundred and fifty pieces of battering cannon; six hundred pieces of field artillery; five bridge equipages; nine sixty-four-gun ships; twelve thirty-two-gun frigates; twelve corvettes; eighteen galleys; armistice with the King of Sardinia; convention with Genoa; armistice with the Duke of Parma; armistice with the King of Naples; armistice with the Pope; preliminaries of Leoben; Convention of Montebello with the Republic of Genoa; treaty of peace with the Emperor at Campo-Formio.

"Liberty given to the people of Bologna, Ferrara, Modena, Massa-Carrara, La Romagna, Lombardy, Brescia, Bergami, Mantua, Crema, part of the Veronese, Chiavenna, Bormio, the Valteline, the Genoese, the Imperial Fiefs, the people of the departments of Coreyra, of the Ægean Sea, and of Ithaca.

"Sent to Paris all the master-pieces of Michael Angelo, of Guercino, of Titian, of Paul Veronese, of Correggio, of Albano, of Carracci, of Raphael, and of Leonardo da Vinci."



reward would be given to him; and a proposal was actually made to give him the magnificent domain of Chambord, but it was evaded by the Directory. They were, in fact, filled with jealous fears of him, which were increased by the public admiration continually manifested, and by the reports they received of the common talk among the soldiers. The troops as they came home praised him to the skies, and began to say it was high time to pull down the *lawyers*, and make their general king. The Directory told him of these sayings, as if to shew their confidence in him; but were not the less uncomfortable.

The society of Paris was distasteful to Napoleon, whose habits and views were too reserved and intense to harmonise with its tone. His well-known disagreement with Madame de Staël originated about this time. She has affirmed, "that far from feeling her fear of Bonaparte removed by repeated meetings, it seemed to increase, and his best exertions to please could not overcome her invincible aversion for what she found in his character,"—while he, in speaking of her, and in his subsequent behaviour towards her, shewed something approaching to personal dislike. It is very probable, as Sir Walter Scott suggests, that he was rather disposed to repel than encourage the advances of one whose views were so shrewd, and observation so keen, while her sex permitted her to push enquiries further than a man would have dared to do. She, on one occasion, put his ready wit to the proof by abruptly asking him, in the middle of a brilliant party, at Talleyrand's, "Whom he esteemed the greatest woman in the world, alive or dead?" "Her, madam, that has borne the most children," answered Napoleon, with much appearance of simplicity. Rather disconcerted, Madame de Staël drily observed, that he was reported not to be a great admirer of women. "I am very fond of my wife, madam," he answered, in that brief kind of manner with which he adjourned a debate as promptly as one of his manœuvres decided a battle. From this time, there was an enmity between Napoleon and Madame de Staël; but it ceased, on her part, after his misfortunes, and was replaced by generous and admiring sympathy.

Josephine was fond of society; formed to shine in its giddy round, and to become one of its favourites. Napoleon experienced at this period feelings of indignant disgust, from the common opinion expressed by "all the world" (as the little circle of fashion calls itself), that he owed his wife a debt of gratitude for his influence with the Directory; but his affection for her does not appear to have been touched by these scandalous impertinences. He only warned her "never to talk politics." He once remarked to her, "What you say is looked upon as coming from me. Be silent, that my enemies (and you are surrounded by them) may not draw evil conclusions from your words. A woman can do her husband no good by talking politics: she may do him much harm."

The Directory, before coming to a decision as to further action, had marched an army on Rome. General Duphot was killed in a popular tumult in that city, in front of the palace of Joseph Bonaparte, the French ambassador. This outrage, which called forth the indignation of the Directory, gave them an opportunity of depriving the Pope of his temporal power, and re-modelling the Romish government according to the standard of French republicanism. About the same period, they interfered very unjustifiably in the affairs of Switzerland, where their rage for reducing all governments to their own idea of perfection, produced resistance and bloodshed. The old democratic cantons were not ready to submit to innovations; and the spirit roused by these unwarrantable measures broke forth again, the moment the pressure of external force was removed. Napoleon saw the impolicy of these proceedings, and endeavoured in vain to prevent them.

New disgusts between him and the government contributed to render his situation unpleasant. The celebration of the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI. was at hand, and the Directors wished that he should attend, lest his absence might render the fête unpopular. He was too penetrating not to perceive that their invitations were only given from motives of policy, and that they secretly feared his presence would divert all the enthusiasm of the people from themselves. He chose, therefore, to object to sanctioning the solemnity by his presence at all; saying that "national fêtes were held in celebration of victories, but that the victims left on the field of battle were lamented, and that it was impolitic to commemorate an event which, however necessary, was in itself a tragedy, and a national calamity; and, whether useful or injurious, was still a melancholy event." The government combated his arguments, by reminding him of the conduct of the Athenians and Romans on similar occasions. He agreed, at length, to be present, but only privately, as a member of the Institute, with the rest of that body. He was recognised, however, and loudly cheered by the people, who forgot the business of the day in their enthusiasm for the general of the army of Italy.

The nomination of Bernadotte, as ambassador to Vienna, was a fresh cause of contention between the Directory and Napoleon. He knew that the violence of Bernadotte's temper made him unfit for this business; and the result proved the correctness of his judgment, a rupture between Austria and France very nearly occurring in consequence of his rashness. Two of Napoleon's brothers were now members of the legislative bodies, and he again had an intention of trying to overcome the difficulty of age, and becoming a candidate for the Directorship; but he never saw sufficient prospect of success to propose himself openly.



At length he resolved to bring the question of the invasion of England to a decision, by a personal survey of the coast, and a calculation of the chances of success with which the attempt might be made. He took with him Lannes, Sulkowsky, and Bourrienne, and visited the different ports on the northern coast, collecting all the necessary information with his accustomed tact, and closely questioning the sailors, smugglers, and fishermen, to whose answers he attentively listened. He was absent only one week, but the time had been sufficient to enable him to form a decided opinion. To Bourrienne's question, on their return, he replied, "It is too great a chance: I will not hazard it. I would not thus sport with the fate of dear France." "On hearing this," says Bourrienne, "I already fancied myself at Cairo."

Napoleon returned to Paris entirely occupied with the idea of Egypt. He compared Europe to a "mole-hill,"—adding, "there have never been great empires or revolutions, except in the East." Egypt was now the inexhaustible subject of his conversation with his friends, amongst whom Monge was his daily visitor, and encouraged his enthusiasm. The rich stores of art, and objects of interest for naturalists and men of science, in that ancient country, were as tempting in prospect to Monge as the conquest of an empire in the East was to Napoleon. The Directory (rejoicing at the prospect of getting rid of him), acceded to all the plans laid down for them by Napoleon, and gave up to him the direction of all the preparations for the projected expedition, which was definitively settled. He selected and equipped the army, raised money, collected ships: he was employed night and day in the organisation of the armament. The Directory converted his wishes into decrees, as the law required. If he wanted an order signed, he frequently ran to the Luxembourg with it himself. At the same time, a body of men, distinguished in art, science, and literature, to the number of one hundred, were selected, under the direction of Monge, to accompany the expedition.

"Shortly before our departure," says Bourrienne, "I asked Bonaparte how long he intended to remain in Egypt. He replied, 'A few months or six years: all depends on circumstances. I will colonise the country: I will bring them artists and artisans of every description, women, actors, &c. We are but nine-and-twenty now; and we shall then be five-and-thirty: that is no old age. Those six years will enable me, if all goes well, to get to India. Give out that you are going to Brest; say so even to your family.' I obeyed, to prove my discretion and real attachment to him."

The embarkation was to take place partly at Civita Vecchia, but the main body was assembled at Toulon. When all was in readiness, Napoleon himself joined them: he harangued the troops in sight of the ships which were to convey them from the shores of France. He told





them that he was about to lead them into a country where they would find new fields of glory, new dangers, and new triumphs; promising that every soldier should be rewarded with seven acres of ground. He was answered by loud cheers, and cries of "Long live the Republic!"

Up to this point, the objects and destination of the armament were kept profoundly secret, and every attempt was made to maintain the popular belief that England was the point to be attacked. The English government vigilantly observed the preparations that were going on, and kept a fleet in the Mediterranean under the command of Nelson. It was highly important that the French squadron should sail without delay, in order to avoid the risk of being discovered by the English cruisers; but contrary winds detained it for ten days. This interval was employed by Napoleon in attention to the minutest details connected with the finely appointed forces under his command.\* The army consisted of twenty-

\* How minute this attention was, will be seen by the following list of books, which he gave in his own handwriting to Bourrienne, and ordered him to purchase, for the purpose of forming a camp library of duodecimos:—First, Arts and Science; secondly, Geography and Travels; thirdly, History; fourthly, Poetry; fifthly, Romance; sixthly, Politics and Morals.

ARTS AND SCIENCE.—Fontenelle's *Worlds*, 1 vol.; *Letters to a German Princess*,

five thousand men, chiefly veteran soldiers selected from the army of Italy, and commanded by several of the first generals of France. Kleber, Desaix, Berthier, Regnier, Murat, Lannes, Andreossi, Junot, Menou, Belliard, all served in this campaign. Four hundred transports were ready to convey the troops. Thirteen ships of the line, and four frigates, under Admiral Brueyes, formed the naval force of the expedition.

At length the wind became favourable, and the English squadron had been driven off the coast by stress of weather. The troops were instantly ordered on board, and all things made ready for departure. Josephine had accompanied Napoleon to Toulon, and remained with him till the last moment, when he embarked on board the admiral's ship, *L'Orient*. Early on the morning of the 19th of May, 1798, the armament set sail, the ships and convoys forming a semicircle of six leagues in extent; and as it began to move, the sun rose in splendour over the sea: it was such a sunrise as those which were afterwards called the "suns of Napoleon."

On leaving Toulon, Josephine went to the waters of Plombières. We find, in the "*Memoirs of Constant*," that, "She had been there but a short time when, one morning, as she was sitting in her drawing-room, engaged at needlework, and conversing with some ladies, Madame de Cambis, who was in the balcony, called her to look at a beautiful little dog that was passing through the street. All the French ladies who were in the room immediately rose, and, following Madame Bonaparte, rushed to the balcony, which instantly gave way with a tremendous

2 vols.; Courses of the Normal School, 6 vols.; The Artillery Assistant, 1 vol.; Treatise on Fortification, 3 vols.; Treatise on Fire Works, 1 vol.

GEOGRAPHY AND TRAVELS.—Barclay's Geography, 12 vols.; Cook's Voyages, 3 vols.; La Harpe's Travels, 24 vols.

HISTORY.—Plutarch, 12 vols.; Turenne, 2 vols.; Condé, 4 vols.; Villars, 4 vols.; Luxembourg, 2 vols.; Duguesclin, 2 vols.; Saxe, 3 vols.; Memoirs of the Marshals of France, 20 vols.; President Hainault, 4 vols.; Chronology, 2 vols.; Marlborough, 4 vols.; Prince Eugène, 6 vols.; Philosophical History of India, 12 vols.; Germany, 2 vols.; Charles XII., 1 vol.; Essay on the Manners of Nations, 6 vols.; Peter the Great, 1 vol.; Polybius, 6 vols.; Justin, 2 vols.; Arrian, 3 vols.; Tacitus, 2 vols.; Titus Livius; Thucydides, 2 vols.; Vertot, 4 vols.; Donina, 8 vols.; Frederick II., 8 vols.

POETRY.—Ossian, 1 vol.; Tasso, 6 vols.; Ariosto, 6 vols.; Homer, 6 vols.; Virgil, 4 vols.; The Henriade, 1 vol.; Telemachus, 2 vols.; Les Jardins, 1 vol.; The Chefs-d'Œuvres of the French Theatre, 20 vols.; Select Poetry, 20 vols.; La Fontaine's Poems.

ROMANCE.—Voltaire, 4 vols.; Heloise, 4 vols.; Werter, 1 vol.; Marmontel, 4 vols.; English Novels, 40 vols.; Le Sage, 10 vols.; Prevost, 10 vols.

POLITICS.—The Bible; The New Testament; The Koran; The Vedan; Mythology; Montesquieu, *L'Esprit des Loix*.

It will be seen by the last item that Napoleon classed the books which contain the principles and histories of different forms of religion under the head of "Politics;" a word he always understood in the most comprehensive sense.



crash, and the whole party fell into the street. It fortunately happened that nobody was killed; but Madame Bonaparte was dreadfully hurt, though she escaped without broken bones. M. Charvet, who was in an adjoining room, being alarmed by the noise, ran out; and on learning what had happened, he ordered a sheep to be instantaneously killed, and the skin of the animal being immediately taken off, Madame Bonaparte was wrapped in it. She suffered from the effects of this accident for a considerable time."

On the 8th of June, the convoys from Italy joined the squadron out at sea; on the 10th, the whole fleet was assembled before Malta. The first object of Napoleon was to take possession of that island. He had already secured a secret party among the knights; and a very slight demonstration of hostilities spread consternation in La Valette, and brought the whole "order" to terms. They were no longer the warrior priests,



the defenders of Christendom; but a set of idle voluptuaries, chiefly known by the balls and fêtes which they gave in the sea-ports of Italy with the revenues intended for the destruction of the Turks. They opened their gates to the French without delay. The grand-master received six hundred thousand francs from Napoleon, and retired to Germany: nearly all the knights entered the ranks of the French army. As the French troops passed through the almost impregnable fortifications, Caffarelli drily remarked to Napoleon that it was fortunate there was some one within such walls to open the gates for them; had there been no garrison at all, it would have been terrible hard work.



Leaving a sufficient garrison in Malta, the French squadron was again under sail on the 16th. Bourrienne remarks of Napoleon, that no man ever understood the value of time better than he; and it might be said of him, that his "leisure was labour." "Of this I often had proof," he adds, "during our voyage. If the activity of his mind did not find sufficient employment in definite objects, he supplied the want either by giving free scope to his imagination, or in listening to the conversation of the learned men attached to the expedition; for Bonaparte knew how to listen; and he was, perhaps, the only man who never for a single moment yielded to lassitude."

Monge and Berthollet were his favourite companions. He liked also to converse with General Caffarelli, who possessed a fund of wit and information. Monge, whose ardent imagination predisposed him to religious impressions, found more sympathy from Napoleon than Berthollet, with his rigid analysis and materialism.

A great part of his time was passed in his cabin, lying on a swing-bed, to avoid sea-sickness; and at these periods Bourrienne read to him. "One of his greatest pleasures" (we quote again from Bourrienne) "was, after dinner, to fix upon three or four persons to support a proposition,



and as many to oppose it. He had an object in view by this. These discussions afforded him an opportunity of studying the minds of those whom he had an interest in knowing well, so that he might afterwards confide to each the functions for which he possessed the greatest aptitude. It will not appear singular to those who have been intimate with Bonaparte, that in such intellectual contests he gave the preference to

those who had supported an absurd proposition with ability, over those who had maintained the obvious course of reason; and it was not superiority of mind which determined his judgment, for he really preferred the man who argued well in favour of an absurdity, to the man who argued equally well in support of a reasonable proposition. He always gave out the subjects which were to be discussed, and they most frequently turned upon questions of religion, the different kinds of government, and the art of war. One day he asked, whether the planets were inhabited; on another, what was the age of the world; then he proposed to consider the probability of the destruction of our globe, either by water or fire; at another time, the truth or fallacy of presentiments, and the interpretation of dreams. I remember the circumstance which gave rise to the last proposition was an allusion to Joseph (of the Bible), of whom he happened to speak, as he did of almost everything connected with the country to which we were bound, and which that able minister had governed."

The great object of excitement and solicitude was to elude the English fleet. The French vessels were encumbered with civil and military baggage, provisions, stores, &c., and densely crowded with troops. What might have been the issue of an encounter with Nelson, while the French army and their general were on board, it is impossible to determine. It is certain that the meeting was dreaded by Napoleon, not only as one full of danger, but as tending to the frustration of his plans; and that Admiral Brueyes contemplated the possibility of it, with feelings of fear which seem, on looking at the subsequent events, like forebodings. "God grant," he would say, with a sigh, "that we may pass the English without meeting them." Of course, the ships were not in fighting trim with all that lumber on board, to which the admiral, no doubt, accounted so many troops a considerable addition. The matter was frequently discussed between him and Napoleon, who carefully enquired into all the manœuvres of the ships, and all the plans to be pursued in case of being forced into an action. The best place for stowing the hammocks (as beds to catch bullets) was one of his enquiries; but as to all the vast mass of baggage and stores which he had provided with such elaborate care, he decided that the whole of it should be thrown overboard if the English squadron hove in sight. There can be no doubt that he would have made the sacrifice, great as it was, without a moment's hesitation; and then, as the French admiral was entirely under Napoleon's command, the sea fight would, in fact, have been between Nelson and Napoleon. This suggests an interesting speculation. The English could never have boarded the French vessels with twenty-five thousand finely-appointed troops to oppose them; the conflict must have been decided entirely by tactics. We have previously



remarked, however, that Napoleon was most anxious for many reasons to avoid the encounter; and this he contrived to effect in a very skilful manner.

Nelson was now in full pursuit. When he returned to Toulon, and found the French fleet was gone, he followed to the southward. At Naples he heard of their landing in Malta, and their destination for Egypt. He arrived at Malta just after they had left the island, and missed overtaking them by the accident of their having run upon the coast of Candia to take in water and fresh provisions.

During a hazy night, on which they lay off Candia, the French were alarmed by the report of guns on their starboard, and it afterwards proved that those were signals between the ships of Nelson's fleet; so close were the two hostile squadrons to each other without being aware of it. Napoleon received positive information of this proximity on the morning, and, in consequence, ordered Brueyes to steer—not for Alexandria, but for Cape Aza, twenty-five leagues distant from that city. This precaution foiled Nelson, who crowded sail for Alexandria; but not finding the enemy there, our lion of the seas went “roaring forth” again in quest of him towards Rhodes and Syracuse.

A continuance of thick misty weather at once prevented the French fleet from being seen by Nelson, and obliged their convoys to keep very close together; which diminished the chance of their discovery, especially as the English admiral had no frigates. Denon says that Nelson's fleet was actually seen by the French on the 26th, standing to the westward, although the haze concealed the latter from the English. Napoleon did not fail to maintain the most active enquiries as to the motions of his able antagonist; and the numerous light vessels in his fleet gave him abundance of opportunity.

During the voyage several men, on different occasions, accidentally fell overboard. It has already been shewn how little the value of human life was estimated by Napoleon when the success of his designs required the sacrifice; and he was now proceeding on an expedition in which thousands of lives were certain to be lost: yet in the mere prospect of losing a single man by these accidents, he manifested the greatest excitement, never relaxing in the most vigorous personal exertions. No trouble was too great; and he always rewarded those who had run any risks in assisting. One dark night the alarm was given that a man had fallen overboard. Napoleon instantly ordered the ship to be laid to—all hands called up—the boats to be lowered. When they picked up the “unfortunate object,” it turned out to be a quarter of a bullock, whose loud splashing fall had occasioned the mistake. Napoleon rewarded the same as usual all who had been foremost: he said, “It might have been a sailor.”





At length, on the morning of the 1st of July, the tops of the minarets of Alexandria announced to Napoleon that his point was gained; when, at the very moment that the danger seemed over, a signal was made that a strange sail was in sight. Apprehension instantly converted it into an English frigate, the precursor of Nelson's dreadful fleet. "Fortune!" cried Napoleon, "wilt thou abandon me? I ask but six hours." It was only a French frigate, which rejoined them. The encounter between the conquerors by land and by sea was not destined to take place.

Napoleon ordered the immediate disembarkation of the troops, notwithstanding the request of Brueyes for a little delay, as the wind blew almost a hurricane—he did not know the coast—the sea was rolling high, and night coming on. Napoleon was so well aware that Nelson's promptitude and daring resembled his own, and had such an apprehension of his coming down upon them while in the disordered state of their preparations to land, that he would not wait an instant. A few soldiers missed their footing or were pushed overboard in the crowd, and drowned. At one o'clock in the morning of the 2nd of July, Napoleon himself landed on the soil of Egypt, at Marabout, three

leagues westward of Alexandria, and by three in the morning, he commenced his march upon Alexandria with three divisions of his army.

To understand the operations of the campaign in Egypt, it is requisite that we should first be aware of the condition of the country at the period. The admirable "Notes on Egypt," made by Napoleon, and given at length by Bourrienne, contain a wonderful variety and extent of information on this point. He had made himself acquainted with the nature of the soil and productions, the coast and harbours, the customs of the people, their government, their religion and laws, the amount of the population, and of the revenue. He was impressed with the vast capabilities of the country, and their wretched misapplication and destruction. Every detail is accompanied by his own projects of improvement, all evincing the soundest and most enlightened views. He describes Egypt, which, properly speaking, is only the valley of the Nile, as inconceivably fertile and luxuriant. Cultivation only extends so far as the annual inundation of the Nile, conducted by canals, can reach, depositing there the rich slime brought down from the Abyssinian mountains. The greatest width of the valley of the Nile, from its entrance into Egypt to Cairo, is four leagues; the smallest, about one league. Northward of Cairo, the river divides into two branches, forming the Delta. All beyond is sandy desert, relieved only by a few bushes on which camels can subsist, but uninhabitable by man, except where at intervals appear small spots of verdure, (caused by the presence of springs of water,) bearing tall palm trees, and affording delicious shade and rest to the parched and weary traveller. The desert closely resembles the sea, while the rich valley of the Nile is like the boundary of coast. Wandering Arabs from Asia or other parts of Africa traverse the desert, and occasionally, mounted on their fleet and beautiful horses, make incursions into the cultivated country. Villages of domiciliated Arabs were stationed along the frontiers, who were well armed, and held their lands on the tenure of protecting the country from the ravages of the wandering tribes; but it would often happen that they made common cause with the spoilers.

When the French invasion took place, Egypt was nominally a province of the Porte, and governed by a Turkish pacha; but he was utterly powerless, and the Turkish army consisted of only about a thousand old and infirm men, without leaders, who soon joined the ranks of the French army. The real rulers of Egypt were the twenty-four beys, or chiefs of the body of military slaves, called Mamelukes, once the servants of the Porte, but now masters of its province. Every one of these beys maintained a separate military establishment. These men were all, as their beys once had been, Georgian or Circassian slaves, bought in childhood, and trained from the earliest age to war. There were about eight thousand in all, splendidly mounted, exercised, and armed, and of surpassing

courage. The villages of Egypt were all fiefs belonging to the beys, who were frequently at war amongst themselves, and oppressed the inhabitants by every species of tyranny and extortion. The people had, besides, to pay a small tribute to the Porte. The population was two million five hundred thousand; the bulk of which was composed, as now, of the descendants of the Arab conquerors of Egypt, the followers of Mahommed; with the addition of the Copts, the descendants of the ancient Egyptians, mostly Christians; Jews, Turks, and Christians from other countries. The mass of the population was sunk in the extreme of ignorance and poverty. "I ascertained," says Napoleon, "from a calculation made in Egypt with the greatest care, that this country, which at present has only about one thousand leagues square of cultivated land, had formerly more than two thousand. The population, which now is not much above two millions, in ancient times exceeded eight millions. The sand has advanced upon the fertile soil. The action of the sand may not inaptly be compared to a cancer: it eats up all before it. The neglect of the irrigating canals has augmented the evil. As to the population, it must have fallen off with the diminution of cultivation; but the extreme wretchedness which prevails is a still more powerful cause of depopulation. The government has more influence upon public prosperity than in any other country; for anarchy and tyranny have elsewhere no influence upon the course of the seasons and the rain. All land in Egypt might be equally fertile; but a dyke uncut, a canal not cleared, may render a whole province a desert, for seed-time and all the productions of the earth are governed in Egypt by the period and the quantity of the inundations."

Napoleon's first efforts towards improvement would accordingly have been to extend to the utmost degree possible the boundary of the overflow of the Nile. He would have obstructed the outlets of the river towards the sea; cleared the old canals, and cut new ones. By these means he contemplated increasing the extent of Egypt by eight or nine hundred square leagues. His continual meditations on these subjects were not unnoticed by his officers. "At each step of his advance," says Savary, in his Memoirs, "General Bonaparte quickly foresaw everything that was to be done to render available the resources of the most fertile country in the world, and give them a suitable application." Egypt has, since that period, entirely changed masters. The Porte has now as little power over the country as it had then; but the despotism of its pacha, Mohammed Ali, who has nearly attained the rank of an independent prince, has succeeded to the tyranny of the warlike Mamelukes. He has introduced the European system of warfare, encourages some branches of knowledge, and is gradually making innovations upon ancient superstitions and habits; but the condition of the people, their





GENERAL DESAIX.



barbarous customs, their ignorance, poverty, and wretchedness, are very little ameliorated.\*

With these preliminary hints, we proceed to the campaign. The Turks attempted an ill-conducted resistance from the ruinous walls of Alexandria, and the French army lost nearly two hundred men in making the assault; after which they discovered, to their astonishment, that the great gate leading to Damanhour was open and unguarded, and they quickly made their entrance. General Kleber was wounded on this occasion. The city yielded instantly. It is asserted by Sir Walter Scott, that it was abandoned to pillage for three hours; and this assertion is repeated by Mr. Lockhart, as on the authority of "almost all" writers of the period, merely admitting that Bourrienne and Berthier rebut the aspersion. It is not only positively denied by Berthier, and by Bourrienne (an author whose self-conceit and envy make him never slow to point out the faults of Napoleon), but it is not even hinted at by Savary, Las Casas, and other original authorities; and is besides incredible, because directly in opposition to the conciliating policy pursued by Napoleon on every occasion in Egypt. Such a proceeding would indeed have rendered his address to the soldiers on landing a hideous absurdity. After proclaiming that they were to make war only on the Mamelukes, and to respect the people, their customs, and religion, he ended with these words:—"The people, amongst whom we are to mix, differ from us in the treatment of women; but, in all countries, he who violates is a monster. Pillage enriches only a small number of men; it dishonours us; it destroys our resources; it converts into enemies the people whom it is our interest to have for friends." As an additional refutation of this calumny, it may be mentioned that the army left Alexandria the same night: they had marched the whole of the previous night; and repose, not ferocious appetite and pillage, must in all probability have occupied the intervening hours. Napoleon himself remained behind some days in Alexandria, employed in establishing order in the city and province, and in directing the arrangements for the immediate advance of the army towards Cairo. General Desaix was sent forward with four thousand five hundred men to Beda. All the vessels of the convoy were brought into port, and the stores and baggage landed. A flotilla of light vessels was organised, and the ammunition and provisions necessary for the troops were put on board. They sailed for the mouth of the Nile, with orders that they should ascend the river, keeping abreast of the army. The squadron (*viz.*, the men-of-war) was directed to come into harbour instantly, or, should there be any difficulty, to proceed to Corfu. Admiral Brueyes, unfortunately for the expedition, delayed obeying this

\* See "An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians," by Edward Lane. 2 vols. 1836.



order, and came to anchor at the point of Aboukir, conceiving that in that situation he should be able to assist the army in case of a disaster. The commission of learned men remained at Alexandria until Napoleon should reach Cairo, with the exception of Monge and Berthollet, who accompanied him. The command of Alexandria was intrusted to Kleber.

On the 7th of July, Napoleon set forward with the rest of the army, and entered upon the painful march across the desert, towards Damanhour. The sufferings endured in this march were excessive. The



burning rays of a vertical sun, undimmed by a single cloud; the absence of any shade or shelter in the sandy waste; the myriads of tormenting insects; the scarcity of water, only to be found in the wells which occurred at distant intervals, and these were often brackish, dirty, or purposely choked with sand by the Arabs; the piercing cold of the nights; and the frequent harassing attacks of the wandering tribes of the desert; altogether produced an accumulation of ills which called for a fortitude far beyond that possessed by the army so lately accustomed to the beautiful climate and other luxuries of Italy. The illusion called the *mirage*, which presents to the eye the appearance of a vast sheet of water, and

when approached, vanishes, leaving nothing real but the eternal scorching sand, seemed to mock the torments of the soldiers, and render their condition still harder to endure. They were half delirious with disgust and despair. On this, their first march, they frequently and openly murmured in a mutinous strain: some of the generals, even, lost all command of themselves. Lannes and Murat were seen, in a fit of broiling rage, to dash their laced hats on the sands, and trample upon them in the presence of the soldiers. Napoleon, on one occasion, losing temper in his turn, threw himself into the midst of a group of discontented general officers, and singling out the most prominent among them, exclaimed, with vehemence, "You have used mutinous language! Take care that I do not fulfil my duty. It is not your being six feet high that should save you from being shot in a couple of hours!" Nothing but the extraordinary influence he possessed over the army could have held it together. His iron constitution, and also, no doubt, his energy of purpose, enabled him to go through hardships, apparently without being conscious of them, under which others were sinking. He encountered every danger and evil with the men, by day and by night, wore his uniform beneath the beating rays of this terrible sun, just the same as when in Paris, and finally succeeded in effecting a rapid march across the desert. The soldiers, with their native lightness of heart, now began to vent their spleen in sarcastic jokes. Looking round at the boundless ocean of sand, they remarked to one another upon the moderation of their general, in promising them only "seven acres." "The rogue," said they, "might, with safety, have promised us as much as we pleased; we should not abuse his good nature!" They, however, bore a grudge against Caffarelli, who they thought had advised the expedition, and used to say, as he hobbled past with his wooden leg, "He does not care what happens; he is sure to have one foot in France!" The Savans, as the French called the learned commission who accompanied the expedition, came in for their share of jibes, and the men used to call the asses (which are very numerous in Egypt, and of which the Savans all possessed one or two) the "*demi-savans*." Savary tells a tragical adventure, which occurred during this march. As the soldiers were employed in clearing the sand from a well, which had deluded their hopes, they were attracted by moans proceeding from an adjacent spot, and found a woman lying there, who was on the point of dying from thirst. Her eyes had been recently put out, and an infant was trying in vain to get its accustomed nourishment from her breast. They gave her wine, and she revived. They could not understand her language, but she felt their helmets and dress, and made signs of extreme gratitude. An interpreter coming up with another division, learned that her husband had reduced her to this wretched state of blindness, and then left her to a horrible death,



owing to a fit of jealousy. She expressed her belief that her benefactors were angels sent to relieve her, and implored them either to take her with them or kill her instantly. They could not grant her entreaty, but attached to her dress a paper, desiring the French soldiers who were following to take care of her. The next regiment which came to the spot found her stabbed to the heart. They could only suppose the deed had been done by the husband, who, having been concealed near at hand, became infuriated by observing the aid she received.

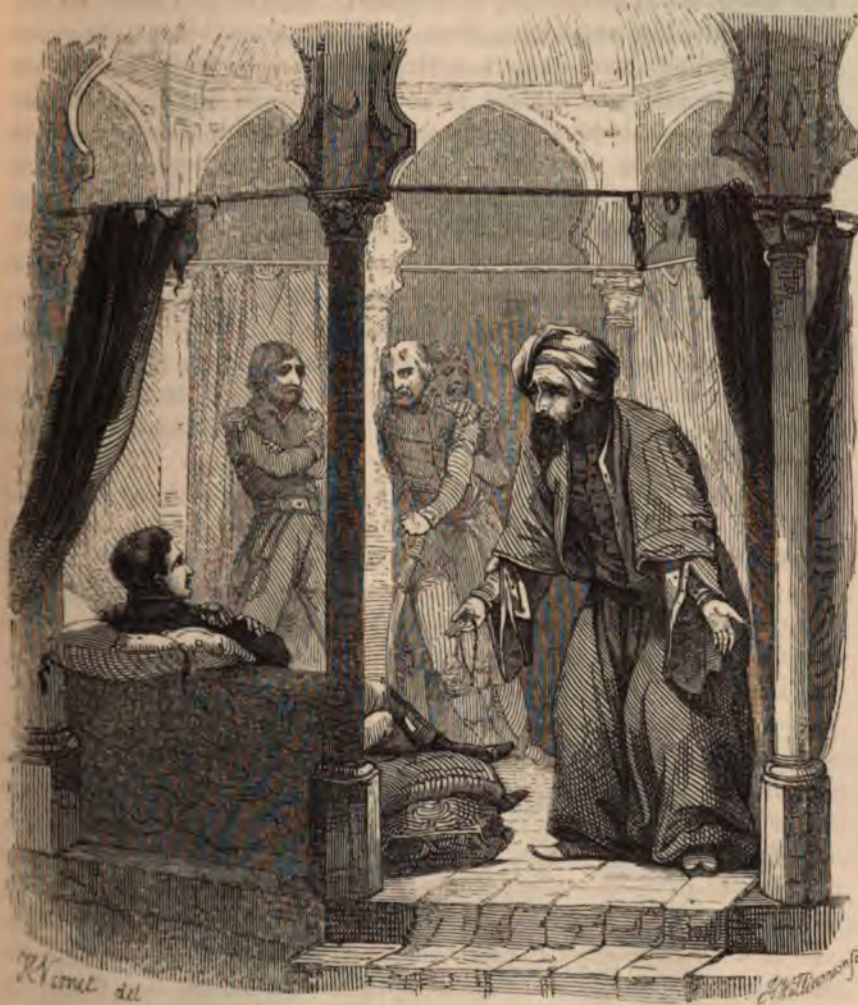
On the 10th of July, the army reached the Nile at Rahmanié. "We no sooner saw the river," says Savary, "than soldiers, officers, and all rushed into it; each, regardless whether it was sufficiently shallow to afford security from danger, only sought to quench his burning thirst, and stooped to drink from the stream, the whole army presenting the appearance of a flock of sheep." This truly graphic account affords an amusing antithesis to the flock of sheep which conveyed to the imagination of Don Quixote the appearance of an army. Not a single soldier had stopped to throw off his knapsack, or even lay down his musket. The whole mass of men had hurried on, insensible to all around them, in the one absorbing desire for water; but now, having time to look about them, they found themselves in the midst of fields full of melons, and all kinds of fruit—delicious shade and verdure—and saw the flotilla, which had left Alexandria, at anchor in the flowing river.

There was now abundance of food within every one's reach. The men complained, notwithstanding. Neither wine nor bread were to be had; severe privations to French soldiers.\* "We encamped," says Napoleon, "on immense quantities of wheat, but there was neither mill nor oven in the country." The men bruised the grain between stones, and baked it in the ashes, or parched and boiled it: still it was not bread. The utmost order was observed, and no pillage whatever was permitted. There was no difficulty in making bargains. The harvest of every village was piled up in one heap for general use outside the village; corn-lofts and granaries were unknown; and the men found out that the simple and ignorant people were more pleased to receive their buttons in exchange than money.

When the army reached Damanhour, the head-quarters of Napoleon were established at the house of a sheik. The old man was rich, but his furniture and all his domestic utensils were shabby and scanty in the extreme. When Napoleon had gained his confidence, the reason of this seeming discrepancy was soon explained. "Some years ago," said the sheik, "I repaired and furnished my house. When this became known

\* General Foy says that a French soldier on a march consumes two pounds of bread per day.





at Cairo, a demand was made upon me for money, because it was said my expenses proved me to be rich. I refused to pay the money; and in consequence, I was bastinadoed, and, at length, forced to pay it. From that time, I have allowed myself only the bare necessities of life; and I shall buy no furniture for my house." He was lame from the barbarous treatment he had received. Altogether, his story seems to be a counterpart of many of the adventures in "The Arabian Nights," and one among the numerous proofs which exist, of their correctness in describing the laws (oppressions?), manners, and customs, of the people.

Napoleon now obtained information that a large body of Mamelukes was assembled at Chebreissa, to dispute his further progress. General Desaix's division, which formed the advanced guard, had encountered a party during the march, but Napoleon had not yet fallen in with them. The army was ordered to advance in squares, as the best means of defence against the attacks of the Arabs. The men were unable to leave the ranks for an instant, without certain death from the spears or scimitars of these matchless horsemen; and therefore, although so near the Nile, several fell dead from thirst. But the ferment of their minds was their worst evil. They began to say there *was* no great city of Cairo; that they expected it would prove only a collection of wretched huts. Two dragoons, mad with intolerable heat, thirst, and despair, rushed out of the ranks, and drowned themselves in the Nile.

In this state they came up, on the 13th, with the Mamelukes, who were drawn out in battle array at Chebreissa, under Mourad Bey, one





of their most powerful chiefs. They were a magnificent body of cavalry, glittering with gold and silver, and mounted on the most splendid horses.

The battle commenced without a moment's hesitation on either side. The French flotilla was at the same time vigorously attacked by Turkish vessels. Each Mameluke, feeling in himself the valour of a host, rushed in the singleness of his purpose, as if alone against the opposing mass; and with repeated charges, endeavoured, by every means of unbridled fury or consummate skill, to break the solid squares of the French army. Even when stabbed or shot down, the wounded Mamelukes dragged their dying bodies with bloody trail along the ground, and swept their scymetars across the knees of the foremost ranks. They were at length beaten back, with the loss of about three hundred, and the Turkish flotilla retreated. Monge, Berthollet, and Bourrienne, were all on board the French vessels during the action, and high accounts were given in the dispatches of the gallant conduct of the secretary and the two Savans.

After the action of Chebreissa, the French army continued to advance during eight days without the opposition of any enemy, except the hovering Arabs who lay in wait for every straggler from the main column. Meantime, they had to endure innumerable hardships in the scorching desert. "The general-in-chief," says Las Casas, "shared the fatigues of the soldiers. The privations endured by every individual in the army were sometimes so great, that they were compelled to dispute with each other for the smallest enjoyments, without the least distinction of rank. To such extremities were they reduced, that in the desert the soldiers would hardly relinquish their places to allow the general to dip his hands in a muddy stream. On one occasion, when they were almost suffocated by the heat, near the ruins of an ancient city, some one resigned to him a fragment of a door, beneath which he contrived to shade his head for a few minutes. 'And this,' said Napoleon, 'was no trifling concession.'"

The same writer relates an anecdote of General Berthier at this period, which is too extraordinary an illustration of character to be altogether omitted. Berthier was passionately in love with an Italian lady of rank, and had with the greatest difficulty torn himself from her to join the expedition into Egypt. He had continually endeavoured to evade it, yet, whenever he went to Napoleon with that view, he was always won over. But now that he was actually engaged in the undertaking, and under such trying endurances, his very soul was still pursuing its former object. On every march he always had, adjoining his own tent, another prepared, which was furnished with all the elegance of a lady's boudoir, and consecrated to the portrait of his mistress. He was known even to burn incense before it. Napoleon regarded this absorbing passion



as a proof of weakness of mind, and could not understand his own incapacity to detach Berthier from its influence.

The order of march towards Cairo was systematically arranged. Each division of the army moved forward in squares six men deep on each side; the artillery was at the angles; and in the centre the ammunition, the baggage, and the small body of cavalry, still remaining. Great losses had been sustained among the horses. Napoleon himself, when he rode, almost always made use of a dromedary, though he at first suffered a sensation resembling sea-sickness, from its peculiar motion. A considerable portion of the baggage was also carried by dromedaries and camels.





#### CHAPTER XIV.

BATTLE OF THE PYRAMIDS—ENTRANCE INTO CAIRO—BATTLE OF THE NILE—CHANGE IN THE PROSPECTS OF THE EXPEDITION—NAPOLEON'S ARRANGEMENTS—REVOLT AT CAIRO—NAPOLEON VISITS SUEZ.



It was on the 19th of July that the army first saw the summits of the pyramids on the distant horizon. It was a sublime sight; and the apparent eternity of the objects,—united, as they seemed to be, with the vast calmness and equal tone of the expanding atmosphere, the first gleam of sunrise, and the physical elements,—formed a solemn contrast with the pigmy host of invading mortals who came to sweep or be swept away by creatures as transient as themselves, yet tacitly acknowledging the influence of these enduring monuments of the

death of ages, and all their men and kings.

Still advancing towards Cairo, the distant pyramids swelling upon the eye at every step, the army reached Embabé on the 21st, and there

found the Mamelukes in battle array to dispute their further progress. Embabé is a village close to the Nile, and situated opposite to Boulac, one of the suburbs of Cairo. Mourad-Bey had stationed his forces with skill. His cavalry, consisting of eight thousand men, was supported on the right by the Nile, on the banks of which he had constructed a large intrenched camp, defended by forty pieces of cannon and a body of infantry hastily levied from the janissaries, spahis, and militia of Cairo, twenty thousand in number, but ill-armed and undisciplined. The left of the Mamelukes stretched across the road to Gizeh, two or three thousand Arabs occupying the space between their extreme left and the pyramids. The French army advanced in five grand squares. Their left kept close to the Nile; their right, fronted the Mameluke left. Napoleon headed the centre square. Before the battle commenced, he raised his hand with an air of inspiration far higher than the motives which inspired:—"Soldiers! from the summit of those







BATTLE OF THE PYRAMIDS.



pyramids, forty centuries look down upon you." The thought and the expression were sublime, and most unlike the race of common conquerors,—the serious, literal, business-like men of death; and yet how short-sighted, how one-sided the idea! The awful centuries did indeed look down upon the moving dust—and smile.

The first manoeuvre of the French army disconcerted the plans of the Mamelukes. Napoleon had discovered, by the aid of a telescope, that their cannon were not mounted on carriages, but were immovable, being, in fact, iron pieces taken from the Turkish flotilla which had retreated at Chebreissa. He therefore ordered a movement of his whole army to the right; thus passing out of the range of the enemy's guns, and rendering their infantry, which would not venture beyond the camp unsupported by artillery, nearly useless to them. Mourad-Bey, who foresaw, with the quick instinct of an experienced leader, the fatal consequences to himself of this movement, instantly led an impetuous attack upon the French, with the view to prevent its completion. The Mamelukes rushed at full speed upon the immovable squares, and perished in heaps around them as though under the walls of so many fortresses. The places of the dead and dying were instantly supplied by new warriors, who fell in their turn. Still, the Mamelukes continued to charge. They daringly penetrated even between the spaces occupied by the squares commanded by Regnier and Desaix (which, owing to the rapidity of the attack, had not been able to complete their manoeuvres, and "masked" one another to the extent of several yards), so that the desperate horsemen were exposed to the incessant fire of both faces of the divisions at the distance of fifty paces. Rendered furious at being unable to break the ranks on either side, they hurled their pistols and carbines into the soldiers' faces. Many of the French fell from each other's fire in the resistance to this act of desperation. Savary, who fought in Desaix's division, which had to stand the first attack of the Mamelukes, has given a striking description of the impression produced by their furious onset. "Although," he says, "the troops that were in Egypt had been long inured to danger, every one present at the battle of the Pyramids must acknowledge, if he be sincere, that the charge of the Mamelukes was most awful, and that there was reason, at one moment, to apprehend their breaking through our formidable squares, rushing upon them, as they did, with a confidence which enforced a profound silence in our ranks, interrupted only by the word of command. It seemed as if we must inevitably be trampled in an instant under the feet of this cavalry of Mamelukes, who were all mounted upon splendid chargers, richly caparisoned with gold and silver trappings, covered with draperies of all colours and waving scarfs, and who were bearing down upon us at full gallop, rending the air with



their cries. The whole character of this imposing sight filled the breast of our soldiers with sensations to which they had hitherto been strangers and made them vividly attentive to the word of command. The order to fire was executed with a quickness and precision far exceeding what is exhibited in an exercise or upon parade."

The enemy, who were able to impress the veterans of Italy with a grave a feeling, only became more desperate from failure. They turned to the right-about, and reining back their horses, actually flung themselves backwards with them upon the bayonets, to force a passage throwing away their lives with utter indifference; while the survivors becoming frantic by their ineffectual efforts, began to yell out that the French soldiers were tied together. Napoleon now charged the main body, and divided one part from the other. Mourad-Bey, forced to abandon the field, retreated in the direction of Gizeh, followed by about two thousand of his Mamelukes. These were all that escaped with life out of the matchless body of men who in such superb array had but scornful defiance to the European invaders only a few hours before.

The remainder fled to the camp. It was immediately stormed and taken by the French, with great slaughter. The Mamelukes attempted to rejoin their chief on the Gizeh road, and he made many efforts to open a passage for them, but in vain. Their floating bodies carried the news of their disaster to Rosetta, Damietta, and all the places on the banks of the Nile. Very few escaped. Thus was almost entirely destroyed, a body of men who would have been the finest of all imaginable cavalry, had their discipline equalled their individual prowess. "Could I have united the Mameluke horse to the French infantry," Napoleon used to say, "I should have reckoned myself master of the world." The promiscuous rabble of infantry fled in disorder, and many of them reached Cairo, where they spread accounts of the dreadful and invincible power of Napoleon and his army.

In this battle the French took a thousand prisoners; the whole of the enemy's artillery, pontoons, and baggage; many hundred camels and horses, and all the rich spoils of the camp, heaped full of the wealth and luxuries of the late proud oppressors of Egypt, of whose forces, including their retainers and followers, ten thousand had perished on the field. This action, known as the battle of the Pyramids, decided the conquest of the country. Ibrahim, the rival of Mourad-Bey, fled from Cairo during the following night, having set fire to sixty vessels on the Nile, in which all the remaining riches of the Mamelukes had been deposited. The conflagration lighted up the country for leagues around, during the whole of the night. The French army, which had assembled at Gizeh after the pursuit of Mourad-Bey from the bloody scene of the conflict, distinctly saw, by its glare, the minarets of Cairo, and of the great plac







of burial, called the "City of the Dead." The pyramids caught the reflection, and were visible through the darkness. They must have appeared as if themselves emitting some strange light, in horrible harmony with the scene.

Cairo, meanwhile, was left a prey to its own vile and degraded populace, now relieved from all authority, and they committed the most frightful atrocities throughout this dreadful night. By the earliest dawn, Napoleon prepared to take possession of the conquest he had made; but was spared all further difficulties by its unconditional surrender. A deputation of the sheiks and chief inhabitants waited upon him at Gizeh, where he had taken up his quarters in the country house of Mourad-Bey, to implore his clemency, and submit to his power. He received them with the greatest kindness, informing them of his friendly intentions towards them, and that his hostility was entirely confined to the Mamelukes. He instantly wrote to the Turkish pasha, assuring him of the friendly disposition of France towards him. "I beg you to assure the porte," he concludes his letter, "that she shall sustain no sort of loss, and that I will secure to her the continuance of the tribute hitherto paid." Cairo and its citadel were immediately occupied by the French troops. On the 24th of July, Napoleon made his public entry into the capital, amidst a great concourse of people, who looked upon him with awe, as the conqueror of the terrible rulers, whom they had considered invincible. The rolling fire of the infantry, by which he had



achieved the victory, gained him, among these eastern imaginations, the appellation of Sultan Kebir, or King of Fire.

Napoleon lost not an instant in commencing the civil and military organisation of the country. The strictest discipline was enforced. The mosques, the civil and religious institutions, and the harems, were scrupulously respected. The wives of the Mamelukes had all remained in Cairo while their husbands were engaged in the war, and were now treated with the utmost consideration. Napoleon sent Eugene Beauharnais, to assure the wife of Mourad-Bey of his protection, and granted several requests she made to him through his envoy, scrupulously preserving her villages for her. She entertained Eugene with all possible honours, and presented him with a valuable ring at his departure. In a few days the French soldiers were to be seen sociably smoking their pipes in the shops of Cairo, or playing with the children. A note which Napoleon despatched, the day after his arrival, to his brother Joseph, announced an intention of visiting France in two months, and remaining there during the winter. It was followed by another a few days afterwards, enumerating the troops and warlike stores he wished to have sent to him in Egypt. The import of both these notes has caused some speculation, as they seem to shew that he considered his conquest would, in about two months, be consolidated, and that he wished to preserve Egypt as a French colony; whilst he himself should, at least for a period, remain at the seat of government, to watch the progress of the time, and act as events should give him opportunity. According to Bourrienne, he planned a sudden and vigorously-conducted descent upon England. His second note ends with the following list of suggested "importations" for his new conquest:—

"First, a company of actors; secondly, a company of dancers; thirdly, some dealers in toys, at least three or four; fourthly, a hundred women; fifthly, the wives of all the men employed in the corps; sixthly, twenty surgeons, thirty apothecaries, and ten physicians; seventhly, some founders; eighthly, some distillers, and dealers in liquor; ninthly, fifty gardeners, with their families, and the seeds of every kind of vegetable; tenthly, each party to bring with them two hundred thousand quart of brandy; eleventhly, thirty thousand ells of blue and scarlet cloth; twelfthly, a supply of soap and oil."

The French flotilla had come up in safety, and was moored before Gizeh. A fortnight had been sufficient to complete the arrangement necessary for the tranquillity of the country. Kleber remained at Alexandria; the different divisions of the army were so disposed, as to protect the whole of Lower Egypt, which was now entirely in possession of the French. Napoleon then, leaving Desaix at Cairo until his return, marched in pursuit of Ibrahim-Bey, with the intention of driving him



GENERAL KLEBER.





into Syria, and defending the entrance into Egypt in that direction. He overtook the Mameluke chief at Salahié, and after a sharp action, (which, in consequence of the scantiness of the French cavalry, had nearly proved disastrous), compelled him to retreat, and thus accomplished the object of the pursuit. Ibrahim ceased to molest the French from this time.

It was on his return from Salahié to Cairo that Napoleon was met by a messenger, with information of the destruction of the French fleet by Nelson, in that memorable engagement in the roads of Aboukir; best known in England as the battle of the Nile. The news fell upon Napoleon like a thunderbolt. He had been so anxious about the fleet, as to write twice to Admiral Brueys to repeat the order that he should enter the harbour of Alexandria, or sail for Corfu; he had also, previously to leaving Cairo, despatched Julien, his aide-de-camp, to enforce the order; but this unfortunate officer was surrounded and killed, with his escort, at a village on the Nile, where he had landed to obtain provisions.

Admiral Brueys was still at his moorings, near the point of Aboukir, when, on the 1st of August, the British fleet appeared in sight. Nelson reconnoitred the position of the French fleet, and immediately resolved upon his plan of action. The squadrons were nearly equal in numbers. There were thirteen ships of the line on both sides; but the French had four frigates; the English only one fifty gun ship, and no frigates. Three of the French ships carried eighty guns, and the admiral's ship *L'Orient*, was a splendid vessel, of one hundred and twenty guns; while the English ships were all seventy-fours. The French had therefore the advantage in force. Their ships were arranged in a semi-circular compact line of battle, and so close to the shore, that Brueys had supposed it was impossible to get between them and the land; but his daring enemy, who well knew all the soundings, soon convinced him of his mistake. The van of the English fleet, six in number, successfully rounded the French line, and dropping anchor between it and the shore, opened their fire, while Nelson, with his other ships ranged along it on the outer side, and so placed the ships between two tremendous fires. The battle raged furiously, and lasted beyond sunset and even after the darkness of night had fallen upon the scene. Admiral Brueys was wounded early in the action, but continued to command with the utmost energy. Towards eight o'clock in the evening he fell, mortally wounded, but would not suffer himself to be carried below. "A French admiral ought to die on his quarter-deck," he replied to the entreaties of his friend Gantheaume, who succeeded him in command. All this while five of the French ships, under Admiral Villeneuve, remained totally inactive; being placed beyond the range of the battle by the plan of attack adopted by Nelson; at all events, they never gave any assistance. A dreadful conflagration soon supplied the place of the light of day.

L'Orient was discovered to be on fire about nine o'clock; and the flames soon enveloped the immense fabric, and ascended to the very summit of the masts. It burned like a volcano in the midst of the combat; and at length blew up with an explosion so tremendous that it silenced the hostile fire on both sides, producing for a short period an awful pause in the raging tumult. It was a shock that suddenly brought men to the consciousness of their humanity, which they had quite forgotten; and which they soon again forgot.

The battle was quickly resumed: the French fought desperately; but one after another of their vessels was taken or destroyed. Amongst other instances of determined courage, the death of Du Petit Thouars, captain of the *Tonnant*, is recorded. Both his thighs were carried away by a cannon ball, yet he still remained at his post. Another ball took off one of his arms. In this state of frightful mutilation, he exclaimed, "Crew of the *Tonnant*! never strike; nail the colours to the mast!" and while his orders were obeyed he died, only desiring that he should





be thrown overboard should the ship be taken. When the English boarded the *Tonnant*, the body of its brave commander was nowhere to be seen.

It was not until two o'clock of the 2nd of August, that the great victory achieved by the British was complete. Two only of the French ships and two frigates escaped, under the command of Villeneuve, who put to sea, and was not pursued. The want of frigates or small craft prevented Nelson from pushing his advantage much further, by the destruction of the French store ships and transports in harbour; they therefore remained unharmed. The effects, nevertheless, of the battle of the Nile were sufficiently disastrous to the French, not only in Egypt, but in preventing further schemes of conquest. The army was cut off from communication with France; their hope of receiving supplies was rendered doubtful and precarious; their battering train was destroyed: and, what was more important than all, the impression they had created by their continual success,—their moral ascendancy over the imagination,—was at once annihilated. The *porte* very soon afterwards declared war against France.

The disaster was understood in its full extent and consequences by Napoleon. He bore it, however, with the greatest fortitude, and without a murmur,—merely observing, that “to the army of France was decreed the victories of the land; to England, the sovereignty of the seas.” It is to the credit of his humanity, no less than of his strength of mind, that at such a moment,—when all his plans and projects, and, to a great extent, the results of what the expedition had already effected and endured, were swept away at one blow,—he could dismiss his own affairs from his thoughts, and write the following letter to the widow of Admiral Brueys:—

“CAIRO, August 19th, 1798.

“Your husband has been killed by a cannon shot, while fighting on his deck. He died without pain, and by the best death, and that which is thought by soldiers most enviable.

“I am keenly sensible to your grief. The moment which severs us from the object we love, is terrible: it insulates us from all the earth; it inflicts on the body the agonies of death; the faculties of the soul are annihilated; and its relation with the universe subsists only through the medium of a horrible dream which distorts everything. Mankind appear colder and more selfish than they really are. In this situation, we feel that if nothing obliged us to live, it would be much best to die; but when, after this first thought, we press our children to our hearts, tears and tender emotions revive the sentiments of our nature, and we live for our children. Yes, madam! see in this very moment how they open your heart to melancholy: you will weep with them; you will bring

them up from infancy; you will talk to them of their father, of your sorrow, of the loss which you and the Republic have sustained. After having once more attached your mind to the world by the ties of filial and maternal love, set some value on the friendship and lively regard I shall always feel for the wife of my friend. Believe that there are those who deserve to be the hope of the afflicted, because they understand the poignancy of mental sufferings.

“NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE.”

To suffer a reverse of fortune, and to apply himself to the best means of averting its evil consequences, were nearly simultaneous with Napoleon. “He soon recovered,” says Bourrienne, “the fortitude and presence of mind which had been for a moment shaken by the overwhelming news from Aboukir. He, however, sometimes repeated, in a tone which it would be difficult to describe, ‘Unfortunate Brueys, what have you done!’” The loss of the fleet had, in some measure, the effect of calming the irritation which had prevailed among the troops, more or less, ever since their first march through the desert. Their situation had become serious, and they were proportionately anxious, for their own sakes, to avoid any counteraction to the plans of their general, in whom their confidence remained unshaken. General Desaix was despatched with his division to drive Mourad-Bey from Upper Egypt. This expedition was completely successful. In all quarters the highest discipline was preserved; and Napoleon exerted all the energy of his nature to increase the resources which remained to him, and to preserve and organise Egypt as a province.

While paving the way towards obtaining an influence over the minds of the inhabitants of Egypt, the French general had put all sorts of works into active progress for the comfort and improvement of his army. The commission of scientific men had now been removed to Cairo, and each of its members was named chief of some establishment, and intrusted with its formation and management.

After the battle of the Nile, Nelson had landed at Alexandria all the crews and soldiers of the captured French vessels, to the number of seven or eight thousand men; probably believing that he thereby only added embarrassments to their commander-in-chief, who was erroneously believed to be without any resources. The artificers of all kinds amongst them, formed a valuable addition of hands to the works that were going on; some of the men were added to the different corps. The old sailors were constructing and manning a flotilla on the Nile. Mills and ovens, were now plentiful. Foundries and powder mills were erected. Armourers, locksmiths, carpenters, rope-makers, and workers in various trades, not only to supply articles of necessity, but even many luxuries, were in full employment. A French and Arabic printing-press was set

to work. The army was newly clothed, in a style suited to the climate ; and this, altering the temperature of their bodies, brought calm and comfort to their minds. They now wore thin blue cotton clothes, and black morocco caps, each man having a cloak of the substantial flannel of the country for night covering. Napoleon alone appeared in his European uniform, actually buttoned up as he wore it in France ; and even under such disadvantages, while every one else was nearly fainting from the heat, and suffering from excessive perspirations, he always looked as cool and fresh as when he was at Paris. His mind was strung to a pitch of energy, which well seconded the marvellous constitution of his body. " We will remain here," he had said, after the disappointment of his first projects, " or we will leave the country great, like the ancients." So quickly had his mind recovered its tone, that, on the 21st of August, (only a week after he learned of the destruction of the fleet), he founded an Institute in Cairo, exactly on the model of that learned society in Paris. Monge was the president ; Napoleon himself, vice-president.

The Institute was established in one of the palaces of the beys. The grand hall of the harem was the place of meeting ; the rest of the building served as a place of habitation for the members. The scientific instruments of all kinds brought from France, were deposited in the different rooms, which also became a museum of all the curiosities of the country. The garden was converted into a botanical garden. Berthollet had a laboratory, and his chemical experiments were largely attended by the officers, and constantly by Napoleon.

Two newspapers, one devoted to literature, and the other to politics, were printed at Cairo. News from France was earnestly desired, but the numerous English and Turkish cruisers rendered all communication impracticable. Impatience at this privation, added to the disappointment of his extensive schemes, made continual occupation essential to Napoleon : the government of his new conquest, extensive and difficult as it was, did not supply sufficient food for his inexhaustible activity. He would sometimes spend hours, in the course of the day, lying flat on the floor, upon large maps of Asia, over which he traced his projected route eastward ; though compelled to own to himself that his resources were unequal to the undertaking. When the heat was not too great, he rode on horseback ; when confined to the house, he read and made notes ; and occasionally fell into long reveries, from which he would rouse himself, and break into conversations, which Bourrienne characterises as being " strange " in their nature, though always replete with interest. On one of these occasions, after long silence, he suddenly said to Bourrienne, " Do you know what I am thinking of ? " " Upon my word," answered the secretary, " that would be very difficult you think of such extraordinary things." " I don't know," continued Napoleon,



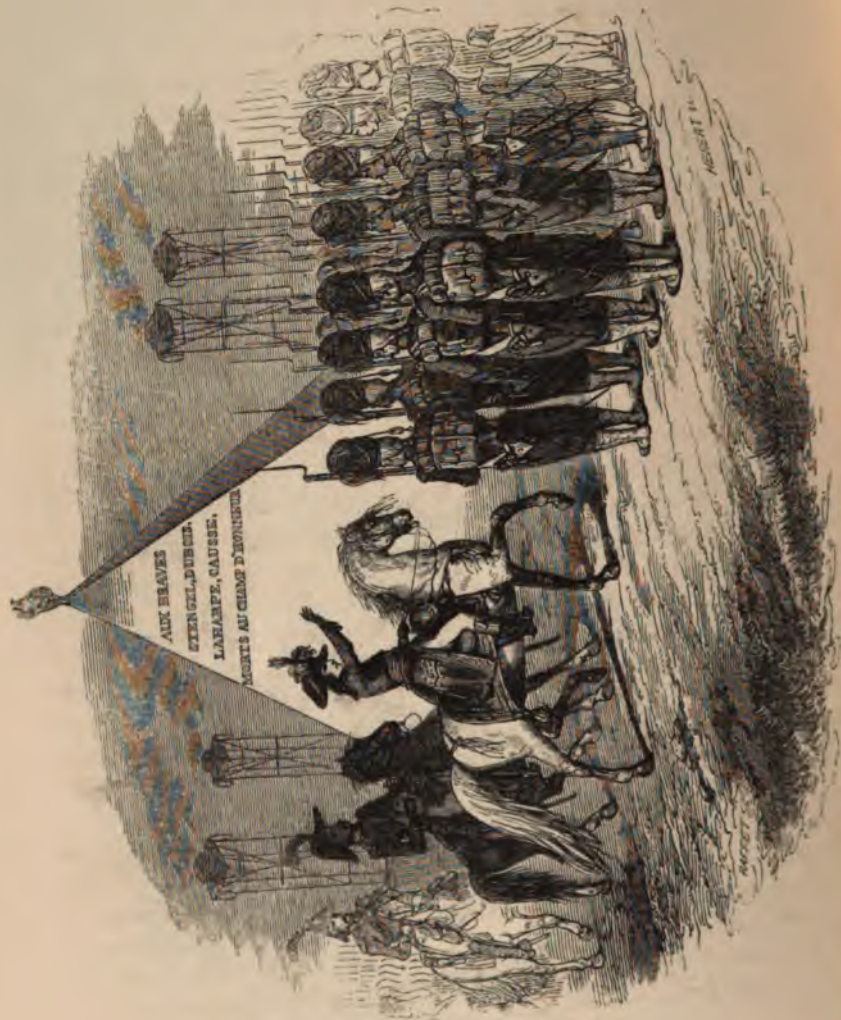
"that I shall ever see France again; but if I do, my only ambition is to make a glorious campaign in Germany, in the plains of Bavaria; there to gain a great battle, and to avenge France for the defeat of Hochstadt. After that, I would retire into the country, and live quietly." He was accustomed to go to bed early. "I used to read to him every night," says the secretary: "when I read poetry, he would fall asleep; but when he asked for the 'Life of Cromwell,' I counted on sitting up pretty late."

It was an essential point of his policy to conciliate the inhabitants; and he lost no opportunity of encouraging their friendly feelings towards the French. Immediately after his return from the pursuit of Ibrahim-Bey, he attended the ceremony of opening the dyke of the canal of Cairo, which receives the waters of the Nile, when the inundation has reached a certain height. The ceremony was of a superstitious character, and he thought the inhabitants would be pleased at his reverence of their notions in these respects.



A few days afterwards, Napoleon was present, by invitation of a principal sheik, at the anniversary festival of the birth of the prophet. These circumstances, and the respect he shewed to all the rites of the established religion of the country, have led some authors to assert that







he actually became a Mussulman. This is entirely fabulous. The truth is, that he regarded all forms of religion as the ordinances of men, and considered them simply as political engines, to be encouraged, or not, according to expediency. Consistently with this view of established forms, he held many conferences with the Imaums, or priests, of Cairo, well knowing the importance of making them believe he might possibly become a convert; and it is an amusing fact, that they offered up prayers for him in the mosques, in consequence. As to his Turkish dress, on which so much has been "embroidered," he only wore it once, among his officers, as a joke. He made his appearance one morning among them at breakfast, in full oriental costume, with an imperturbable air of somniferous gravity, and was received with a burst of laughter; but he never resumed it. Some of the falsities which have been told and believed about Napoleon are very serious; some very ridiculous. General Menou, however, really turned Mussulman.

As the 22nd of September, 1798, approached, great preparations were made by Napoleon for celebrating the anniversary of the foundation of the French Republic. The festival was kept at every point occupied by the French, in Egypt; but with more magnificence at Cairo than elsewhere. The commander-in-chief gave a splendid banquet to nearly two hundred guests, inhabitants of Cairo, as well as Frenchmen, in a circular building, erected for the purpose, and adorned with columns and standards. The French and Turkish flags waved side by side. An obelisk in the centre was covered with appropriate inscriptions; and seven altars bore the names of those who had died in battle. A grand review of the troops completed the festivities of the day; and the French general did not fail to rouse the enthusiasm of his soldiers by one of his usual addresses.

"Soldiers," he said, "we are celebrating the first day of the seventh year of the Republic. Five years ago, the independence of the French people was threatened: but you took Toulon, which was the presage of the ruin of our enemies. A year afterwards, you beat the Austrians at Dego; the next year, you were on the summit of the Alps; you besieged Mantua, two years ago, and gained the celebrated victory of Saint George. Last year, you were at the sources of the Drave, and the Isonzo, returning from Germany. Who would then have thought that you would now be on the banks of the Nile, in the centre of the ancient continent? From the Briton, celebrated in arts and commerce, to the ferocious Bedouin, you fix the attention of all mankind.

"Soldiers, your destiny is noble; for you are worthy of your deeds, and of the reputation you have acquired. You will die with glory, like the heroes whose names are inscribed on these altars; or you will return to your country covered with laurels, and with the admiration of all nations."

In the midst of this apparent security, a storm was preparing which soon burst forth. Ibrahim, and Mourad-Bey, were continually inciting the people to revolt. The former frequently addressed the fierce assemblage of Arabs, in tones and gestures of wild eloquence and energy, the effect of which was speedily reflected from a crowd of dark up-turned faces, while yelling plaudits followed his speech.



It was not the Mameluke chiefs only who impelled the people to insurrection: priests made use of their religious formulas for the same purpose. An order had been issued by Napoleon, on his first arrival at Cairo, to watch the criers of the mosques, who, at certain hours of the



night, offer up prayers from the tops of the minarets. He foresaw, that the opportunity they thus might have, would be prodigious as a means of excitement; his directions, however, were gradually neglected as the appearance of danger vanished. The priests, perceiving this, substituted inflammatory hymns, and cries of revolt, for their usual prayers; and by these means, and by secret emissaries, roused the people from one end of Egypt to the other. Early on the morning of the 21st of October, Napoleon was startled from sleep by the news that Cairo was in a state of open rebellion. General Dupuy, who held the post of commandant of the city, had fallen among the first victims to the fury of the populace; and a general massacre of the French had commenced. Napoleon



was on horseback in an instant; and, accompanied by thirty Guides, repaired successively to every threatened point, and restored confidence among the soldiers. The armed inhabitants of Cairo, repulsed in all directions, took refuge in the great mosque, which was speedily surrounded by the French cannon, and taken.

A scene of carnage ensued, which struck terror into the breasts of



all the malcontents in Egypt, and made tenfold atonement for the French blood already spilt. The Arabs attempted a hostile entrance into Cairo, on the same morning, but were driven back, not however, without some difficulty and loss. Sulkowsky, the aide-de-camp of Napoleon, and much beloved by him, fell on this occasion. Tranquillity was completely restored in three days; but during that interval, deadly severities were practised by Napoleon, which it seems he considered necessary, as the only means of competing with the dangerous crisis. Numerous prisoners were conducted to the citadel, of whom, twelve were singled out for execution nightly. Many women were included among these victims; for what especial reason is nowhere related. The twelve principal chiefs of Cairo, who expected an inevitable death, and awaited it with apparent indifference, were only detained as hostages by Napoleon. Mortars were ranged on all the heights commanding Cairo. The city was placed under military government, and a heavy contribution was levied on the inhabitants. The Arabs were terrified into quietude, by the miserable fate of one of their tribes, on whom military execution was perpetrated, and the French became once more masters of Egypt. The insurrection had effectually unmasked the designs of the Grand Seignior, who had openly encouraged it by his proclamations.

The French general was not long idle. The hostility of the porte, which would of course be encouraged and assisted by England, implied impending danger on two points,—the approach of a Turkish army by Syria; and the landing of another on the coast of the Mediterranean, under the protection of British ships. The necessity of forestalling their designs by an expedition into Syria, was becoming apparent to Napoleon. In the month of December he visited Suez; partly with a view to the necessary preparations for such an undertaking, partly from curiosity to explore the remains of the canal, which is said to have united the Red Sea to the Mediterranean. He was accompanied by his aides-de-camp, and by Caffarrel, Monge, and Berthollet. A squadron of Guides formed his only guards. The party rapidly crossed the desert, a distance of five-and-twenty leagues. They passed over the Red Sea at the same point at which Moses conducted the Hebrews out of the "land of bondage," carefully choosing like their predecessor, the time when the ebb-tide left it almost dry. Leaving his guards on the Asiatic shore of the sea, Napoleon and his companions rested by the springs called the 'Wells of Moses,' and visited the Cenobites of Mount Sinai, who obtained from the French general a safeguard or exemption from duties for their caravans in trading with Egypt. The party returned to the same evening, and undertook the passage of the sea towards  
it was coming on, and the tide about to rise, so that there

was not a moment to lose, but at this perilous juncture they lost their way; and in the increasing darkness they were uncertain whether they were advancing towards Asia, Africa, or the open sea. Their very speed might now only conduct them more rapidly to destruction. The waves were rising, and very soon the foremost riders cried out that their horses were swimming. Napoleon averted this imminent danger by one of those promptly conceived expedients for which he was remarkable. He made himself the centre of a circle, ranging the rest of the party around him in several straight rows, or radii, each man at the distance of ten paces from the man behind him, until the circle was complete. He then ordered them all to move forward, each man moving in a straight line from the point at which he himself remained fixed. When the leading horseman of any of these lines lost footing, and his horse began to swim, Napoleon made him and his whole line of followers return back towards the centre, and move on in the direction of another column, the leader of which was still on firm ground. The radii thus sent out in directions where they lost footing, had been successively withdrawn, and placed behind others which were still safe, till, at length,





that line only remained which was advancing in the direction where the water became shallower, or had not yet reached ; and this was naturally the right way to the shore. They gained Suez at two in the morning, the water being already at the poitreles of their horses ; for the tide rises twenty-two feet on this part of the coast. In talking of this narrow escape from sharing the fate of Pharaoh, Napoleon remarked to Las Casas, " This would have furnished all the preachers in Christendom with a splendid text against me."

Meantime, we should observe, that Napoleon carefully avoided making any claim to the sovereignty of Egypt, but continually declared that he had only rescued it from the Mameluke usurpers. " He lightened the impost," says Mr. Lockhart, " by introducing as far as he could, the fairness and exactness of a civilised power, in the method of levying it. He laboured to make the laws respected, and this so earnestly and rigidly, that no small wonder was excited among all classes of a population so long accustomed to the license of a barbarian horde of spoilers. On one occasion, one of the Ulemahs could not help smiling at the zeal which he manifested for tracing home the murder of an obscure peasant to the perpetrator. One Mussulman asked if the dead man was anywise related to the blood of the Sultan Kebir? " No," answered Napoleon sternly ; " but he was more than that : he was one of a people whose government it has pleased Providence to place in my hands." Besides the enforcement of justice in the laws, every means was taken for the acquirement of knowledge, and the advancement of science. " The virtuosi and artists of his train," continues Mr. Lockhart, " pursued with indefatigable energy their scientific researches ; they ransacked the monuments of Egypt, and laid the foundation, at least, of all the wonderful discoveries which have since been made, concerning the knowledge, arts, polity, and even the language, of the ancient nation."







## CHAPTER XV.

PROJECT OF THE TURKS—NAPOLEON'S EXPEDITION INTO SYRIA—BERTHIER—MARCH ACROSS THE DESERT—NAPOLEON'S JEALOUSY—PAULINE—EL ARISCH, GAZA, RAMEH, AND JAFFA, TAKEN—TURKISH GARRISON PUT TO DEATH—SIEGE OF ST. JEAN D'ACRE—SIR SYDNEY SMITH—NAPOLEON'S RETREAT—STORY OF POISONING THE SICK—ARRIVAL AT CAIRO—THE TURKS BEATEN AT ABOUKIR—NAPOLEON DEPARTS FROM EGYPT.



NAPOLEON passed the rest of the year 1798, at Cairo. Positive reports reached him before its close that Turkey was making active preparations to commence hostilities against him. In January, 1799, two Turkish armies were assembled; one at Rhodes, the other in Syria: the former was intended to make a descent upon the coast of Egypt at Aboukir, as soon as the season permitted; the latter had already pushed forward its advanced

guard to El-Arisch, a fort within the Egyptian territory; had established large magazines at Gaza, and landed at Jaffa a train of artillery of forty guns, served by twelve hundred cannoniers, in the European manner. The Pasha of Syria, surnamed Djezzar, or "The Butcher," from his

horrible cruelties, was at the head of this army. Napoleon did not wait to be attacked on both points at the same time ; but, according to his usual custom, determined to set forward and encounter one division of his enemies at a time. He resolved on an immediate expedition into Syria. Circumstances forced him into this new campaign, but even before he began it, extensive schemes were forming in his imagination, connected with its probable results. He addressed two letters to Djezzar, offering him friendship and alliance ; but the pasha observed a contemptuous silence as to the first communication, and replied to the second in his favourite fashion ; that is to say, he seized the messenger, and chopped off his head. There was, consequently, nothing to be done with Djezzar but to fight with him. Napoleon well knew, also, that the inhabitants of Syria were groaning under the yoke of their tyrant, and counted upon their flocking in crowds to his standard, if he should succeed in conquering this pasha. To menace Constantinople with an army swelled to hundreds of thousands of men ; establish a peace with the porte ; march upon the Indus, and conquer India ; these were the visions which now filled his hours of silent abstraction. He wrote a letter to Tippoo Saib, which bears the date of the 25th of January, 1799. It was as follows :—" You are of course already informed of my arrival on the banks of the Red Sea, with a numerous and invincible army. Eager to deliver you from the iron yoke of England, I hasten to request that you will send me, by the way of Marcate or Mokha, an account of the political situation in which you are. I also wish that you would send to Suez, or Grand Cairo, some able man in your confidence, with whom I may confer." The fall of the Mysore, in less than three months after this letter was written, probably prevented its being ever received. All remote schemes of conquest, however, gave way in a moment with Napoleon, before even the most distant fear of any danger threatening the country he had adopted as his own, or perilling his individual hope of assuming such a position there, as should exalt that idol of his soul,—“ the glory of France.” He had received no official news from home since the end of June, 1798, but just about the time of the Syrian expedition, some vague reports of a gloomy nature had reached him, and he lingered several days after all was ready, in hopes of hearing something definite. He declared, at this period, that if he positively knew France to be at war with the powers of Europe, he would immediately return. Subsequent events will shew that it is important to mark this unchanging determination.

The army was put in motion early in February, immediately after the celebration of the “ Feast of the Ramadan,” at Cairo, in which Napoleon joined, with great pomp. He left strong garrisons in all the fortified towns of Egypt ; a moveable corps of fifteen hundred men round

Cairo, and General Desaix's division in Upper Egypt. The army he led into Syria consisted of about twelve thousand men: it presented one grotesque novelty,—a regiment mounted on dromedaries. Kleber, Bessières, Caffarelli, Murat, Lannes, Junot, and Berthier, accompanied him. Berthier had, just before this new expedition, obtained permission to return to France. Napoleon granted it from being no longer able to endure the sight of his sufferings: he was ill, and appeared dying from the effects of the climate, and his passionate love. A frigate was prepared for him at Alexandria, and it was believed he was already on his way there, when he suddenly presented himself before Napoleon, who had been sincerely hurt at the separation. He came to tell his general that he would not leave him; that he voluntarily renounced all idea of returning to France, not being able to forsake him at a moment when he was about to encounter new dangers. Napoleon, delighted with his determination, embraced him, and their friendship became stricter than before. The sacred tent traversed the deserts of Syria with the devoted Berthier; and the homage to the picture (which, Bourrienne tells us, "excited the merriment, rather than the sensibility of the officers,") was never omitted. The name of the lady is known; but the object who could inspire such a feeling, and throughout such circumstances, must at least be deserving of all delicate forbearance.





The great desert which divides Egypt from Syria, is seventy-five leagues across. El-Arisch, the first point of attack, is six leagues within the Egyptian frontier. The march was made rapidly and in good order; the men encountering their fatigues and privations with fortitude. It was during this march that Bourrienne witnessed a scene, which we quote in his own words: "Whilst near the wells of Messoodiah, on our way to El-Arisch, I one day saw Bonaparte walking alone with Junot, as he was often in the habit of doing. I stood at a little distance, and my eyes, I know not why, were fixed on him during their conversation. The general's countenance, which was always pale, had, without my being able to divine the cause, become paler than usual. There was something convulsive in his features—a wildness in his look, and he several times struck his head with his hand. After conversing with Junot for about a quarter of an hour, he quitted him and came towards me. I never saw him exhibit such signs of intense and smothered passion. I advanced towards him, and as soon as we met, he exclaimed in an abrupt and angry voice, 'So, I find I cannot depend upon you!—These women!—If you had loved me you would, before now, have told me all I have heard from Junot. He is a real friend. Josephine!—and I six hundred leagues from her. You ought to have told me. That she should have thus deceived me! Woe to them! I will exterminate the whole race of fops and puppies! As to her—divorce! yes, divorce! a public and open divorce! I must write! I know all!'" Our remarks concerning the attractive position of Josephine in Parisian society (see Chapters V. and XIII.) will be recollected, and may help to account for the effect of injurious reports upon the feelings of Napoleon. Bourrienne, who perceived by the foregoing exclamations that Junot had been relating some stories to the disadvantage of Josephine, now endeavoured to point out to Napoleon how frequently such reports are mere calumnies—how certain they are to be exaggerated; adding, that he knew nothing of such reports himself, and if he had, he should have avoided such a moment as this to detail them, when Josephine was absent and could not defend herself, and Napoleon was engaged in the commencement of a hazardous enterprise. "I spoke," adds the secretary, "of his glory." "My glory!" cried he; "I know not what I would not give if that which Junot has told me should be untrue; so much do I love Josephine! If she be really guilty, a divorce must separate us for ever. I will not submit to be a laughing-stock for all the imbeciles of Paris. I will write to Joseph. He will get the divorce declared." Bourrienne relates that he continued to combat this resolution, and to oppose rash haste in such a matter, and succeeded at length in calming him. "He became tranquil, listened to me as if he had suddenly felt the justice of my observations, dropped the subject and never returned to it, except that

about a fortnight after he expressed himself greatly dissatisfied with Junot, and complained of the injury he had done him by his indiscreet disclosures, which he began to regard as the inventions of malignity. I perceived afterwards that he never pardoned Junot for this indiscretion; and I can state almost with certainty that this was one of the reasons why Junot was not created a marshal of France, like many of his comrades whom Bonaparte loved less." It may startle the reader to learn, after all this elaboration, that any doubt should be cast over the whole account, the authenticity of which is utterly denied in the "Memoirs of the Duchess d'Abrantes." But her Memoirs have certainly no pretensions as an historical authority.

When we connect the above account with another fact concerning Napoleon, which is equally certain, there would be some difficulty in accounting for his intense and evident suffering from jealousy, did not the words "*I will not submit to be a laughing-stock for all the imbeciles of Paris,*" sufficiently mark the chief source of pain. Love has continually to bear imputations which in truth should be laid to the account of pride. His love for Josephine was at that period laid asleep. He had, since the month of September, formed a connexion with Madame Fourés, better known by her name of "Pauline," the wife of one of his lieutenants, a lady of very great beauty and sweetness, with whom he fell violently in love from seeing her once in the neighbourhood of Cairo. Her husband, who was much older than herself, and with whom she had only made one of those marriages "*de convenance,*" so common in France and elsewhere, had been quietly put aside by sending him to France with dispatches. He chanced, however, to be taken by the English, who found out the *cause* of his mission; and with a humorous sense of mischief they immediately liberated him, and sent him back to Egypt. The joke was apparent, and produced both rage and laughter. It does not appear, however, that the lieutenant raised any obstacles in the way of his wife's promotion to be "*Queen of the East,*" as she was styled by the army. Napoleon placed great confidence in her, and continued to live with her during the whole period of his stay in Egypt; but it seems he thought and saw no more of her after his return. Absorbed in important state affairs, he forgot her, and she had great difficulty in getting a letter presented to him during the consulate, by means of Duroc, and thus awakened at least sufficient memory in Napoleon to obtain a comfortable subsistence. It was far different with her, if we can rely upon the following romantic and beautiful account by the Duchess d'Abrantes. "During many years Pauline ceased to be spoken of; but, on learning the captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena, she rose above fear and prejudice, and determined to attempt the deliverance of him, who was still dear to her, and sacred as the representative of the glory of her

country. To accomplish her purpose, she realised part of her fortune, and went to several sea-ports, to watch an opportunity of getting to St. Helena. She was long organising her plans; and when all was ready the news reached her that Napoleon was dead. Pauline was then in the Brazils."

To return to the desert: the French army reached El-Arisch on the 17th of February, and quickly driving the Turks out of the village, forced them all to take refuge in the fort, before which the trenches were immediately opened. Meantime General Regnier attacked the pasha's cavalry, which had taken up a position about a league off; surrounded and seized their camps and baggage, and made many prisoners. El-Arisch surrendered the following day. Three hundred horses and a quantity of provisions were found in the place; a body of five hundred Maugrabins, taken prisoners, entered the French service as an auxiliary corps; the rest of the garrison, amounting to about seven hundred men, were, according to most authorities, dismissed, on giving their promise to repair to Bagdad, and abstain from serving against the French for a year.

The vanguard lost its way in the desert on leaving El-Arisch, and suffered severely from want of provisions and water. On the 24th, they passed the pillars placed to mark the boundaries of Africa and Asia. The following day they advanced upon Gaza, and encountered a body of three or four thousand of Djazzar's horse, drawn up to oppose them. Murat, with the cavalry, and the divisions of Lannes and Kleber, quickly put them to flight. They did not, indeed, stand the charge; but fled, leaving a few killed on the field. Gaza yielded immediately. It contained valuable stores, which became the prize of the victors. On the 28th, the green and fertile plains of Syria were first seen by the soldiers, as they continued their advance. They slept that night at Eswod, the ancient Azoth, and the next at Rameh, the ancient Arimatea, which had been evacuated by the enemy. Here they again found valuable stores of provisions. They were now within six leagues of Jerusalem, but they passed it unvisited. Jaffa (the Joppa of Scripture) was invested on the 4th of March, and taken by storm on the 6th. The town was given up to pillage for four-and-twenty hours, and all the horrors of war in that, their most revolting, shape took place. Still, the garrison was not intimidated; refused to yield; beheaded the messenger who was sent to them, and elevated his head on a pole, in sight of the French army. When they were finally compelled to surrender, either all, or the greater part of them, were shot by order of Napoleon. Their numbers are variously stated, from one thousand or twelve hundred men, to four thousand. This transaction has been long dwelt upon and recorded as a perfidious and atrocious piece of cruelty on the part of Na-



poleon. Most horrible, indeed, it was ! but horrible, also, it was to give up the town to pillage, to carry fire and sword into Syria, to destroy the Mamelukes in all their splendour and pride of valour, and leave their rifled, half-naked, and mangled bodies to moulder away on the banks of the Nile.

Where should we stop if we endeavoured to recount all that was horrible in the career of any great conqueror ! There is nothing which marks the shallowness of the current morality of this age more than the proneness to reprobate as infamous some of the details of a given course of action which, regarded as a whole, is approved, and even lauded ; these very details being meantime the necessary consequences of that course which is approved and lauded. So long as the words "glory," "military fame," "pride, pomp, and circumstance" of honour and carnage are held in high estimation by men, so long ought men to abstain from being "shocked" at the necessary consequences attending the service of these evils powers, which are at present permitted to hold their tyrannous sway over the human race. We have never yet had to record one instance of mere wanton cruelty on the part of Napoleon ; and the reader is left to judge whether, or not, this affair is to be regarded as any exception. Napoleon has made his own defence, in a conversation with O'Meara ; but although his explanation has satisfied some of his biographers, we confess that we do not believe he stated the facts correctly. He appears to us to have been desirous to clear himself of an imputation of "mere wanton cruelty," for an action which he was conscious was forced upon him by an imperious necessity, and which cost him excessive pain at the time ; and, without attending to the exact truth, as to the action, he seems to have aimed only at creating the true impression as to the motives. He stated the number of the victims to have been a thousand or twelve hundred, and that the reason he ordered them to be shot, was that amongst them were a number of the Turkish troops taken at El-Arisch, who had given their word not to serve against him for a year. "Now," he said "if I had spared them again and sent them away on their parole, they would directly have gone to St. Jean d'Acre, where they would have played me over again the same trick that they had done at Jaffa. In justice to the lives of my soldiers, since every general ought to consider himself as their father, and them as his children, I could not allow this. To leave as a guard a portion of my army, already small and reduced in number, in consequence of the breach of faith of those wretches, was impossible. I therefore, availing myself of the rights of war, which authorise putting to death prisoners taken under such circumstances, independent of the right given me by having taken the city by assault, and that of retaliation on the Turks, for having slaughtered my messenger, ordered that the prisoners taken at

El-Arisch, who in defiance of their capitulation had been found bearing arms against me, should be singled out and shot. The rest amounting to a considerable number were spared. I would do the same thing again to-morrow, and so would any general commanding an army under such circumstances." This statement is unsatisfactory in one or two points. It does not explain how the garrison came to be prisoners at all, instead of being included in the general massacre which took place in the city after it was taken by storm; and it does not acquaint us with what expedient was fallen upon to dispose of those prisoners who were "spared." The very same reasons which justified (in a military sense) the putting to death of the prisoners of El-Arisch, applied to all the others. They could not be guarded, nor trusted any more than the wretched men who by Napoleon's account suffered death. A Mussulman would never think of keeping faith with a "Christian dog," and this was well known to the French general.

Bourrienne's account, which bears dreadful evidence of truth, and partly contradicts that of Napoleon, is as follows:—When the pillage of the town began, the massacre was horrible. Napoleon sent his aides-de-camp, Beauharnais and Croisier, to appease the fury of the troops as much as possible. They found a great part of the garrison shut up in some large caravanseras. These men cried from the windows that they would surrender upon an assurance that they should be exempted from the massacre to which the town was doomed. The two officers thought they ought to grant these conditions, and brought the men prisoners to the camp, in two divisions,—one of about two thousand five hundred, the other of about fifteen hundred. "I was walking with General Bonaparte," proceeds the secretary, "in front of his tent, when he saw this multitude of men approaching; and before he even saw this aides-de-camp, he said, in a tone of profound sorrow, 'What do they wish me to do with these men? Have I food for them?—ships to convey them to Egypt or France? Why, in the devil's name, have they served me thus?' The aides-de-camp defended themselves by referring to their mission to restrain the carnage. 'Yes,' replied Napoleon, 'as to women, children, and old men; but not with respect to armed soldiers. It was your duty to die rather than bring these unfortunate creatures to me. What do you want me to do with them?'"

The same authority proceeds to speak of the wretched prisoners sitting in front of the tents; their hands tied behind them, sombre rays depicted in their faces; of their scanty rations of biscuits, grudgingly dealt out to them by the soldiers, already themselves on short allowance; of the murmurs, growing louder and louder, at these useless encumbrances; of the councils daily held, while, for three days, some measure was anxiously sought for, to save their lives; of the searching, anxious



gaze over the ocean, to which the telescopes of the French officers were in vain directed, to discover some friendly vessel, which would carry these miserable prisoners away; of the order, at length most reluctantly given, and unhesitatingly executed. They were led out to the sands, fired upon, and all perished. The horrible and remorseless manner in which the soldiers "did their duty" (such are the modes of perverted thought whereby men accommodate the most monstrous actions to their consciences) is thus related by an eye-witness:—

"Many of the unfortunate creatures composing the smaller division, which was fired on close to the sea-coast, at some distance from the other column, succeeded in swimming to some reefs of rocks out of the reach of musket shot. The soldiers rested their muskets on the sand, and, to induce the prisoners to return, employed the Egyptian signs of reconciliation in use in the country. They came back; but as they advanced, they were killed, and disappeared among the waves. This atrocious scene, when I think of it, still makes me shudder as it did on the day I beheld it; and I would wish it were possible for me to forget it rather than be compelled to describe it. All the horrors imagination can conceive, relative to that day of blood, would fall short of the reality. I have related the truth—the whole truth," continues Bourrienne: "I was present at all the conferences; all the deliberations. I had not a deliberative voice; but I am bound to declare, that the situation of the army, the scarcity of food, our small numerical strength, in the midst of a country where every individual was an enemy, would have induced me to vote in the affirmative of the proposition which was carried into effect, if I had had a vote to give. It was requisite to be on the spot in order to understand the horrible necessity which existed. For my own part, I have a perfect conviction that Bonaparte could not do otherwise than yield to the dire necessity of the case. It was the advice of the council, whose opinion was unanimous in favour of the execution, that governed him. Indeed, I ought in truth to say, that he yielded only in the last extremity, and was one of those, perhaps, who beheld the massacre with the deepest pain." Such are the even-handed facts of this dreadful event.

The French army advanced from Jaffa to form the siege of St. Jean d'Acre, a far more arduous undertaking than any they had yet encountered in Syria. Sir Sydney Smith, with two ships of war, was cruising before the port, and the garrison was assisted by European science. Phélippeaux, an old schoolfellow of Napoleon at Brienne, directed their artillery. To add to the difficulties which threatened Napoleon, his battering train, sent forward by sea, was taken by the English, and now turned against him from the walls. The siege commenced on the



18th of March. Almost immediately afterwards, Napoleon was obliged to hasten with General Bon's division, to extricate Kleber from a difficult position at Mount Tabor, where he had been sent to dispute the passage of a Turkish army coming from Damascus. Napoleon, from the heights which command the plain, discovered his division of two thousand men established among some ruins, and maintaining their ground against twenty thousand of the enemy, who surrounded them. He instantly



despatched Murat to gain the Jordan with the cavalry; Vial and Rampon to march upon Naplous, while he placed himself between the enemy and their magazines; by these movements he had enclosed the Turks within the centre of a triangle. He advanced in silence until within a certain distance, and then ordering a gun to be fired, shewed himself on the field. "It is Bonaparte!" exclaimed the soldiers. Kleber, who had fought against these fearful odds, from six in the morning till one, now assumed the offensive. The Turks were completely routed, with the loss of five thousand men, their tents, provisions, and camels.



SIEGE OF ST. JEAN D'ACRE.





Napoleon returned to Acre with all possible despatch. Accustomed to the easy victories which he had obtained on every encounter with the Turkish forces in Syria, he was not prepared to expect the determined resistance by which his progress was now arrested. Acre is surrounded by a wall flanked with towers, and was further defended by a broad and deep ditch with strong works. Napoleon had lost his battering train as already stated, and for a whole month conducted his operations with field artillery; but all this would not have baffled him, had not European skill and courage assisted the Turks. The inexhaustible activity and energy of Sir Sydney Smith, and the talents of Phélippeaux, so directed the defence as to defeat every effort he could make, and foil every stratagem by some other equally destructive. Ammunition was also scarce in the French army. They contrived, however, by a ludicrous *ruse de guerre*, to make Sir Sydney Smith supply them with balls. A few horsemen or wagons were ordered from time to time to make some demonstration of activity on the beach; upon which, the English commodore, who was always on the alert, immediately approached and fired a terrible broadside. The French soldiers, who took care to keep out of danger, then ran forward on the beach amidst shouts of laughter, and picked up the balls, for which they received five sous each.

In the middle of April, Admiral Perrée succeeded in avoiding the English, and in landing unobserved two mortars and six eighteen pounders at Jaffa, which enabled Napoleon to carry on the siege with greater vigour; but, at the same time, a reinforcement of three thousand men was thrown into the place under the protection of the British ships. A succession of furious *sorties* by the garrison, occasionally headed by British marines, and equally furious assaults by the French, now alternated. The slaughter was horrible. The combatants in the trenches, surrounded by putrefying corpses and poisonous stench, sometimes went mad as they fought, being suddenly smitten by the plague under the burning sun. They fell dead while doing desperate deeds. Breaches were more than once made in the walls: a tower was gained by the French; but each advantage ended with itself, and no progress was made towards subduing the place.

General Caffarelli was mortally wounded early in April, but lingered for eighteen days. A sincere regard had existed between him and Napoleon; and it is a singular and affecting fact, that every time Napoleon visited him during the delirium which preceded his death, his mind recovered its tone, his spirits revived, and he talked collectedly; then relapsed into his weakness and wandering immediately he lost sight of his friend.

Another instance of the enthusiastic attachment which Napoleon was capable of inspiring (for the attraction of sympathy by no means ensures

its return), occurred at the siege of Acre. One day, when he was in the trenches, a shell fell at his feet. Two grenadiers immediately rushed towards him,—placed him between them, and raised their arms above his head so as completely to cover every part of his body. The shell burst without injuring one of the group. Both these grenadiers were made officers immediately: one of them, subsequently, was the General Dumesnil, so much talked of in 1814 for his resolute defence of Vincennes against the Russians. He had lost a leg in the campaign of Moscow; and to the summons to surrender he replied, "Give me back my leg, and I will give up my fortress." The fate of his heroic companion is not recorded.

Sir Sydney Smith, in addition to the active hostilities which he directed against Napoleon, dispersed proclamations among the French troops with a view to shake their faith in him. Napoleon, upon this, published an order, from which it might be inferred, that, owing to the heat of the climate, and the excitement of war, the British commodore had gone *mad*; and all communication with him was, therefore, prohibited! Some days afterwards, a lieutenant or midshipman, with a flag of truce, brought a challenge from Sir Sydney Smith to Napoleon, appointing a place of meeting to fight a duel. "I laughed at this," says Napoleon to O'Meara; "and sent him back an intimation that when he brought Marlborough to fight me, I would meet him. Notwithstanding, I like the character of the man."

Still the siege continued. Napoleon, who at this time knew nothing about reverses and failures, would not brook the idea of abandoning it. He made a desperate assault on the 8th of May. Among the officers and men who fell on this day, was Croisier, the aide-de-camp, who had never recovered the fatal affair of Jaffa. Napoleon had once before been violently irritated against him for some seeming neglect at Cairo, and the word "coward" had escaped him. The feelings of Croisier, then deeply affected, had become insupportable since the events at Jaffa, and he sought death at every opportunity. On the 8th of May, Napoleon observed the tall figure of his unfortunate aide-de-camp mounted on a battery, exposed to the thickest of the enemy's fire, and called loudly and imperatively, "Croisier, come down!—you have no business there." Croisier neither replied nor moved; and the next instant received his death wound.

While this obstinate contest was raging in Syria, occasional insurrections had taken place in Egypt; but they were not of any consequence, and were easily quelled. General Desaix was still in Upper Egypt, engaged in perpetual conflicts with Mourad-Bey, who with undaunted courage, rallied his followers after every defeat. He made a desperate stand at Sédiman; and it was only by the determined bravery





of Desaix, who himself led on his soldiers with the cry of "Victory or death!" that he was driven back on this occasion. One more defeat forced him to evacuate Upper Egypt entirely.

Together with the dispatches which apprised Napoleon of this victory, he received intelligence of the loss of a very fine and large *dejerme* (boat of the Nile), named *L'Italie*, which was carrying French troops and provisions. It had run aground, and been attacked by the Arabs, who killed all the prisoners they made with the most horrible tortures. The soldiers were tied to trees, and the military band which accompanied them, were compelled to play while their comrades died under the tortures; after which, the band was mutilated in the same way. The commander of the vessel blew it up, and perished with it. This took an unusual hold upon the French general's mind; and one of those strange feelings he called his "presentiments" came over him. "France has lost Italy," he said to Bourrienne. "It is all over: my forebodings never deceive me." It was of no avail that his secretary represented the want of connexion between the boat on the Nile, and the beautiful country he had conquered. Nothing could remove his impression, which was singularly verified, as we shall presently see.



The situation of the French army now became critical. Its losses in killed, wounded, and sick, had been heavy; provisions began to fail, and the plague was in the hospitals. The inhabitants of the country were constantly repairing to the camp, and frequently on their knees offered up prayers for the success of the French, and their own release from their cruel pasha. The people of Damascus offered their keys to Napoleon. It was, however, impossible to overcome the garrison. Fully appreciating the importance of that which he relinquished, Napoleon at length raised the siege. The sick and wounded had already been removed, and sent in the direction of Jaffa; towards which place the whole army commenced a retreat on the night of the 20th of May. "The fate of the east lay in that small town," said Napoleon, in relating these events at St. Helena. "Had St. Jean d'Acre fallen, I should have changed the face of the world." Whether such extensive results would have followed or not, it is certain that all further conquest eastward was at once prevented by the check he here received, and that he had no alternative but to return to Egypt with all possible despatch. His career in the east was effectually stopped, and this is mainly to be attributed to the great skill of Phélippeaux, and the indefatigable energies of Sir Sydney Smith.

The French army left a long wilderness of conflagration in its track. The brilliancy of an oriental sun was absolutely obscured by the smoke of burning towns and villages, with all their rich crops; destroyed to retard pursuit. A stifling and smouldering atmosphere added more intolerably to the fierce heat. The scorching soil was strewed at intervals with the dead or dying, from the detachment sent on before. Those who still retained any life implored for assistance. "I am not infested, I am only wounded," they would cry, and then shew their wounds, or tear them open afresh, in their desperation. Misery had made every one remorselessly selfish. The whole army passed on, with only here and there a withering remark, such as "It is all over with him!" Oppressed with the sight of so much suffering, Napoleon issued an order at the first halting place, that every horse, mule, and camel in the army, should be given to the sick, wounded, and infected, whom they had now overtaken. In the excited state of his feelings, he violently struck his equerry, who came with a tone of remonstrance to ask "What horse was to be reserved for the General-in-Chief?" "Every one must go on foot, you rascal!" he exclaimed, in a fearful tone of mingled rage and anguish, "I the first."

On the march between Cesarea and Jaffa, Napoleon very narrowly escaped death. Many of the officers had by this time regained their horses, owing to the continual death of the wretched objects who had been mounted upon them. Napoleon, as he rode, was so exhausted that

he had fallen asleep. A little before daybreak, a Naplousian, concealed among the bushes close to the road side, took aim at his head, and fired. The ball missed : the man was pursued, caught, and ordered to be instantly shot. Four Guides drew their triggers, but all their carbines hung fire, owing to the extreme humidity of the night. The Syrian leaped into the sea, which was close to the road ; swam to a ridge of rocks, which he mounted ; and there stood, undaunted and untouched by the shots of the whole troop, who fired at him as they passed. Napoleon left Bourrienne behind to wait for Kleber, who formed the rear-guard, and to order him "not to forget the Naplousian." This was revolting and little-minded. After going through such an ordeal in return for his ambushade, the Syrian was fairly entitled to his life. It is not certain that he was shot at last, and we may, therefore, hope he escaped the intended vengeance.

Jaffa was now destined to be the scene of another of those dreadful expedencies of war, which, like the last-mentioned, has been made a subject for dark accusation against Napoleon. The French army reached Jaffa on the 24th of May, and remained there until the 28th, when it became imperatively necessary to continue the retreat. During the siege of Acre, the military hospitals had been established at Jaffa. It was now requisite to remove all the patients. It appears that Napoleon exerted himself by his presence, and by words of encouragement, to nerve up the unfortunate sufferers to endure this agonising necessity. Some accounts say that he touched the plague patients, to lessen the dread which all felt of contagion.

We will not attempt to describe the horrors of emptying a hospital of its patients, under such circumstances. The painful task was at length accomplished, and all the sick sent forward, with the exception of a few men (the number varies in different accounts from seven to twenty), in the last stage of the plague, and whose death was inevitable. What to do with these wretched men was a dreadful difficulty. To carry them away could only expose them to the misery of removal for no object, and would expose the whole army to infection. To leave them behind would be to leave them to the probable chance of dying in torments inflicted by the Turks, who were only a few hours in the rear. The expedient of accelerating their death by opium was gravely deliberated. With whom the idea originated is uncertain. It is generally ascribed to Napoleon, but he himself stated that it was Larrey, one of the medical staff, who proposed it. From the most careful examination of all the authorities, it appears certain that it was *not* executed, whether from the disapproval of Desgenettes, the chief of the medical staff, or from the want of a sufficient quantity of opium ;—occasioned by the nefarious conduct of the apothecary entrusted with the

charge of providing the medicines, who had loaded the camel appropriated for their conveyance, with provisions and different articles by which he expected to make a profit. Thus the opium, among other drugs, was extremely scarce, at the moment. One or both of these causes prevented the execution of this measure, which has been exaggerated into the statement that Napoleon "poisoned" great numbers of his sick soldiers; some writers have said sixty, some five hundred. Sir Sydney Smith found seven alive in the hospitals when he came up. Napoleon says that a rear-guard remained to protect them; if so, they had galloped off before the English entered the place. Bourrienne, who gravely enters upon the examination of this question, leaves it just as he found it. All the facts he affirms, such as the deliberations on the measure; the current report in the army that it was carried into effect, &c., are admitted on all hands. That it was really done, he only "believes." Savary, General Andreossy, M. d'Aure, and Desgenettes, the physician, affirm the contrary. Las Casas, who took pains to investigate the matter, says the same. The statement of Hazlitt, who is most unjustly accused of extreme and unvarying partiality in his biography of Napoleon, (while no one, who has attempted it, has weighed his faults with a more unsparing hand), is on this point, equally with his account of the massacre at Jaffa, of no strict value as an authority, because, whenever Napoleon expressly states a case himself, Hazlitt implicitly believes in its entire accuracy. In the present instance, however, Napoleon's account coincides with all other authorities. He distinctly avows the intention and the wish, and gives this justification, which we find in O'Meara: " 'Not that I think it would have been a crime, had opium been administered; on the contrary, I think it would have been a virtue. You have been among the Turks and know what they are; I ask you now to place yourself in the situation of one of those sick men, and that you were asked which you should prefer, to be left to suffer the tortures of those miscreants, or to have opium administered to you?' " I replied I should prefer the latter. 'Certainly, so would any man,' answered Napoleon; 'if my own son (and I believe I love my son as well as any father does his child) were in a similar situation with those men, I would advise it to be done; and if so situated myself, I would insist upon it, if I had sense enough and strength enough left to demand it.' " Sir Walter Scott, after arguing the matter elaborately, with great earnestness and judgment, honestly acquits Napoleon of the charge, which he considers a very grave one, and which it may be anticipated, is now finally set at rest.

The French army re-entered Cairo on the 14th of June, and enjoyed for a short period the full luxury of repose. The administration of affairs had been so ably conducted, that the whole country was found in a







BATTLE OF ABOUKIR.

state of perfect tranquillity, even under the trying circumstances of the unsuccessful campaign, the news of which had preceded the army. Only three weeks elapsed before the calm was broken by an irruption of Mourad-Bey, with his remaining Mamelukes; but he retreated with rapidity before Murat, who was sent against him. The French soldiers called this the encounter of the two "Murats." Immediately after this occurrence, Napoleon visited the pyramids, and made preparations for advancing to Thebes; but he was not destined ever to accomplish this journey which he earnestly desired to have made. He was overtaken by urgent dispatches from General Marmont, who held the command of Alexandria, informing him that a fleet of Turkish transports and vessels of war, carrying troops, had appeared off Aboukir, under the protection of the two British ships commanded by Sir Sydney Smith. This news did not take Napoleon by surprise; he had expected it confidently, and had maintained his troops in readiness for it; but it required instant action. He retired to his tent, and employed the remainder of the day and the whole of the night in making arrangements and sending off couriers. By four the following morning, he was on horseback, and with his whole army in full march towards Aboukir. He arrived at midnight, on the 23rd of July, and was occupied till morning in making preparations for battle. Meantime the Turkish troops, to the number of eighteen thousand men, had effected a landing; taken possession of the fort of Aboukir, and of a redoubt situated behind the village; and slaughtered almost to a man, the small French garrisons which occupied these posts; both of which ought to have been more strongly defended, but General Marmont had been obliged to concentrate his power to defend the important city of Alexandria from any unexpected attack.

The battle began early on the morning of the 24th. At the first charge of the French cavalry, headed by Murat, the whole line of the Turkish army, which had been drawn up in battle array on the field, struck with a sudden panic, rushed headlong into the sea. They strove with vain efforts, encumbered as they were in their wide and heavy garments and trappings, to reach the ships. Nearly the whole of them, amounting probably to fifteen thousand men, were drowned. The sea at first appeared literally covered with turbans. Savary asserts that the English sailors took aim and fired at these floating marks; but we reckon the assertion a sheer calumny, as odious as ridiculous. Such conduct is utterly unlike the character of English sailors; besides, there appears no possible motive for such a proceeding.

The village of Aboukir, with the redoubt in its rear, were next attacked by the French. The Turks scarcely made any stand, but fled





in confusion during the first charge, and the village was carried with dreadful slaughter. Three thousand of the Turks shut up in the fort, who surrendered two days afterwards, were all who escaped with life.

The Turkish fleet instantly set sail for Constantinople, and no enemy remained to dispute possession of Egypt with Napoleon. He now sent a flag of truce to Sir Sydney Smith, and an interchange of civilities commenced between the English and the French. This circumstance, trifling in itself, led to important consequences. Among other things, a copy of a French journal, dated the 10th of June, 1799, was sent ashore

by Sir Sydney Smith. No news from France had reached Egypt for ten months. Napoleon seized the journal with eagerness, and its contents verified his worst fear. "My God!" he exclaimed, "my presentiment is realised; the *imbeciles* have lost Italy. All the fruits of our victories are gone! I must leave Egypt!" He spent the whole night in his tent, reading a file of English newspapers, which were now furnished to him. Here he found the accounts of Suwarrow's victories over the French in Italy, and of the disastrous internal state of France. In the morning Admiral Gantheaume received orders to prepare the two frigates *Muiron* and *Carrère*, and two corvettes, for sea, with the utmost secrecy and despatch, furnishing them with two months' supply of provisions for five hundred men.

Having made these arrangements, which he confided to no one but his secretary, and Berthier, whose joy at the prospect of accompanying him, insured his throwing no obstacle in the way of the undertaking, Napoleon returned to Cairo on the 10th of August. Here he made every preparation for departure, giving out that his purpose was to visit the Delta, to observe and reform the condition of the people. He selected Berthier, Murat, Lannes, Marmont, and Andréossy, with five hundred picked men, to accompany him; Monge also, and Denon; and they were all ordered to proceed to Alexandria without delay.

On the 18th, a courier from Gantheaume brought information to Cairo that Sir Sydney Smith had left the coast, to take in water at Cyprus. This was the signal for Napoleon's instant departure. He reached Alexandria on the 22nd, and Gantheaume immediately left the harbour, and stationed his small squadron in front of the creek of Marabout, where, on the 2nd of July of the preceding year, Napoleon had first landed in Egypt; and where he now fixed a day and hour for the ships' boats to meet him, and take him and his suite on board. He had appointed Kleber and Menou to meet him, but the latter only, was able to arrive in time to receive his instructions. To Menou, therefore, he confided his orders and dispatches; holding with this general a long conference. He appointed Kleber to the chief command, and transmitted a long letter to him, containing a clear statement of their condition and prospects in Egypt, and minute details of the plans he wished to have pursued. His proclamation to the army was as follows:—"The news from Europe has determined me to proceed to France. I entrust the command of the army to General Kleber. The army shall hear from me forthwith. At present, I can say no more. It costs me much pain to quit troops to whom I am so strongly attached. But my absence will be but temporary, and the general I leave in command has the confidence of the government, as well as mine." A letter to General Desaix, now in Upper Egypt, where his wise administration had procured him the

title of "The Just Sultan," informed him that Napoleon hoped to meet him in Italy or France in a month.

All things being now in readiness, every one who was intended to sail with Napoleon, was informed of his destination for France. This news spread joy and satisfaction through the whole party.



How far Napoleon was justified in leaving his army at this juncture, has been a matter of frequent discussion. The answer must be found in the state and prospects of the country he was leaving, and of that to which he was returning; and, in his own views, with regard to both. Though he had completely failed in his ulterior hopes of extensive conquest in the East, the immediate object of the Egyptian expedition had



been accomplished. Egypt was subdued from one end to the other, and was now an undisputed possession of France. The loss of the fleet had, however, rendered the conquest a very unprofitable one; utterly useless in a commercial point of view, and quite untenable unless supplies of men and arms could be furnished to it by the "mother" country.

"For thus doth Conquest, with a steel-cased cheek,  
Parental guidance claim, and from the land  
Which war has whitened with its people's bones,  
Exact a child's obedience, and pure love."

The decisive victory of Aboukir, the subsequent tranquillity of the whole country, and the good order and regularity preserved in the administration of all its affairs, both civil and military, made Napoleon's presence comparatively unimportant; while his influence in France (under the supposition that he exerted himself on the subject) might procure for it such aid as was imperatively requisite. The following extract from his letter to Kleber will shew his own views and intentions at the time:—"The arrival of our Brest squadron at Toulon, and of the Spanish squadron at Carthage, removes every doubt as to the possibility of conveying to Egypt the muskets, swords, pistols, and cast-iron you may stand in need of, and of which I have a very exact statement; together with a sufficient number of recruits to repair the losses of both campaigns. The government itself will then acquaint you with its intentions; and I shall, both in my public and private character, take every means to enable you to receive frequent intelligence from home. Should unforeseen events render all attempts fruitless, and you remain up to the month of May without receiving either news or assistance from France; and should the plague, notwithstanding every precaution, extend its ravages over Egypt this year, and carry off upwards of fifteen hundred soldiers, I think that, in such a case, you ought not to attempt to take the field; and that you would be justified in concluding a peace with the Ottoman porte, even if the evacuation of Egypt should be its principal condition. You would then have only to put off carrying such a condition into effect until a general peace." A treaty of peace between Turkey and France was already on foot. Meantime, the position of Kleber in his new command, was most arduous and precarious, because, in addition to the want of various supplies, the army was in fact blockaded by the English fleet in the Mediterranean. France, on the other hand, was unsettled in all affairs, both of external and internal policy. The peace which had existed before the departure of Napoleon, had been quickly broken, and a new coalition, aided by the formidable power of Russia, had been raised against the Republic. The newly formed governments in Italy had been overturned, and a series of victories gained over the French in that country by the genius of

Suwarrow. The Archduke Charles had compelled Jourdan to recross the Rhine, and the French frontier was now threatened by the expected junction of the Russians and Austrians in Switzerland. Two divisions of the Dutch fleet had delivered up their vessels to the English. Internal division added danger to all these foreign reverses. The Chouans of Bretagne were again in the field, to the threatening number of forty thousand, according to some computations; and worse than all, the Directory, the executive government, was disliked and despised by nearly every party in the country, and full of dissension within itself. To meet the exigencies of the times, they had levied a forced loan on the wealthy, which gave alarm to property; and a conscription of two hundred thousand men, which pressed heavily on the country at large. To avert the danger arising from Royalist insurrections, they had passed the "law of hostages," by which the unoffending relatives of emigrants or royalists supposed to be in arms, were thrown into prison. This unjust law, of course filled the prisons with women, children, and old men, and the country with panic and discontent. It was evident that the French government could no longer exist in its present form, and that the glory, so dear to the heart of every Frenchman, if not the very existence of the Republic, was threatened. It is impossible to have followed the history of Napoleon to this point, without perceiving, that to resist throwing himself into the tide of affairs at such a moment, was out of his power. He felt within himself the energy to redeem the losses which the country had sustained, and there is no doubt, that schemes of personal ambition, associated themselves with this sense of power, and began to assume that form which they afterwards decidedly presented, and to deceive him into the belief, that his single will, uncontrolled by any other, would best guide France to the pinnacle of glory and prosperity which he coveted for her and for himself. What might have been the fate of France, had he remained at a distance during this period, it is impossible to know. Probably the Bourbons would have regained their throne some years sooner than they eventually did. That Napoleon should fly to avert such a fate, is consistent with his whole life, and that he should believe *he* only could do this, is consistent with his character.

We here find an instance of the means by which great events roll onward through the world. The allied powers, with their coalition—Suwarrow, with his victories—the Directory, with its weaknesses and inward dissensions—all combine to generate a condition of things, which, being suddenly presented to a man in whose soul they find a responsive chord, whereon they violently strike, produce a tone that fills the world, for a time. Its retreating echoes are yet vibrating, when they are drowned by another and another voice of power; all rising in turn to swell and die, and melt together at the last, into one great harmony, when there will be peace on earth and good will among all mankind.





The conference with General Menou occupied the last minutes that Napoleon remained in Egypt. All was in readiness for departure; the boats waiting at the beach; he was soon on board, and on his way to the frigate which was to convey him to France.

He embarked on the 23rd of August, late in the evening. The discovery of his departure in Alexandria, where the most perfect ignorance as to the recent events still prevailed, is thus described by Savary:—"The horses of the escort had been left to run loose on the beach, and all was perfect stillness in Alexandria, when the advanced posts of the town were alarmed by the wild galloping of horses, which, from a natural instinct, were returning to Alexandria through the desert. The picket ran to arms on seeing horses ready saddled and bridled, which were soon discovered to belong to the regiment of Guides. They at first thought that some misfortune had happened to a detachment, in its pursuit of the Arabs. With these horses came also those of the generals who had embarked with General Bonaparte; so that Alexandria for a time was in considerable alarm. The cavalry was ordered to proceed in all haste in the direction whence the horses came; and every one was giving himself up to the most gloomy conjectures, when the cavalry returned to the city with the Turkish groom, who was bringing back General Bonaparte's



horse to Alexandria." The truth, which now became noised abroad, and the confirmation of it by the proclamation to the army, and the dispatches confided to General Menou, produced at first a kind of stupor, and then much discontent; but a week had not elapsed before men's minds settled into quiet acquiescence with that which was inevitable, and Kleber assumed his command without opposition. He, however, complained bitterly of the hasty manner in which so important and responsible a situation was thrust upon him; and, in a letter to the Directory, did not scruple to insinuate that Napoleon purposely avoided an interview with him before leaving Egypt; as if to avoid his remonstrances. The fate of this letter was singular, as will be shewn in the proper place.

It was dark when Napoleon and his suite embarked on board the Muiron, but by the light of the stars they were able to discover a sight of evil augury,—a corvette, which appeared to be observing them. They got under weigh, however, before morning, unmolested. Napoleon left no responsibility upon the admiral, to whom the various manœuvres of the voyage have been ascribed: "As if," says Bourrienne, "any one could command when Bonaparte was present." By the express directions of Napoleon, the squadron, instead of taking the ordinary course, kept close to the African coast, in the direction of the southern point of Sardinia; his intention being to take a northerly course along the coast of that island. He had irrevocably determined, that should the English fleet appear, he would run ashore; make his way, with the little army under his command, to Oran, Tunis, or some other port; and thence find another opportunity of getting to France. For twenty-one days, adverse winds, blowing from west or north-west, continually drove the squadron on the Syrian coast, or back towards Alexandria. It was once proposed that they should again put into that port, but Napoleon would not hear of it, declaring he would rather brave any danger. This tedious interval left only too much leisure for anxious thoughts, which chiefly turned upon fears of falling in with the English. Napoleon remained chiefly on deck, superintending his orders. To pass away the time he often played at cards with the officers: *vingt-et-un* was his favourite game, being rapid, and one which gave him opportunities of cheating, which he took great pleasure in doing. He never appropriated to himself the fruits of his winnings; they were equally divided; but he expected fortune would favour him on all occasions, small as well as great, and if disappointed, he wished no one to know it. At length the wind changed, and the vessels made a prosperous voyage along the west coast of Sardinia; but after passing the island, it again blew violently from the west, and obliged them to enter the port of Ajaccio. Here they were forced to remain from the 1st to the 7th of October; a delay which increased the impatience of Napoleon to the highest pitch.

"What will become of me," he said, "if the English, who are cruising hereabout, should learn that I have landed in Corsica? I shall be forced to stay here. That I could never endure. I have a torrent of relations pouring upon me." This exclamation was made after visits, congratulations, and endless requests, with which he was assailed. "His brilliant reputation," says Bourrienne, "had prodigiously augmented his family connexions, and from the great number of his pretended god-children, it might have been thought he had held one-fourth of the children of Ajaccio at the baptismal font." He took much pleasure in walking in the neighbourhood of the town, and in pointing out the little domains of his ancestors. It was during his stay in Corsica, that Napoleon first learned the loss of the battle of Novi by the French army, and the death of Joubert. "But for that confounded quarantine," exclaimed he, "I would hasten ashore, and place myself at the head of the army of Italy. All is not over; and I am sure that there is not a general who would refuse me the command. The news of a victory gained by me, would reach Paris as soon as the battle of Aboukir: that, indeed, would be excellent!" He passed much of this anxious period in close studies; reading the Bible, Homer, and the Koran; conversing with the Savans on oriental antiquities, and working problems in geometry; just as he had done during his recent perilous passage from Egypt. Anxious and tormenting fears for the future would, however, seize at times upon his mind; and they were aggravated by the prospect of long detention in quarantine, even should he succeed in reaching Toulon.

After leaving Ajaccio, the voyage was made without delay or obstruction. On the second day, however, an English squadron of fourteen sail, hove in sight. The French frigates were evidently observed, yet suffered to pass on, and night favoured their escape. Savary affirms that some officers of the British navy subsequently told him that the French vessels were actually seen, but supposed to belong to the English squadron, as they steered their course towards it, and as it was confidently believed that the French had only one frigate in the Mediterranean, and one in Toulon harbour. The signals in the English fleet were heard throughout the night. The anxiety on board the *Muiron* was, of course, excessive; Gantheaume lost all presence of mind, and was in a most painful state of agitation: he wished to return to Corsica. "No, no!" replied Napoleon, imperiously. "No! spread all sail. Every man at his post. To the north-west! To the north-west!" He continued throughout the night giving orders, and directing the course. He kept a long-boat in readiness, which he had purchased at Ajaccio, and was resolutely determined to escape in this if possible, should the English give chase. He had fixed on the persons whom he destined to share his fate, and packed up the papers which were most

important to be saved. The first rays of the sun, however, discovered the English fleet steering to the north-east, and the Muiron and its companions, now relieved from all apprehension, immediately shaped their course for the wished-for coast of France. This escape of the renowned French general, just when it appeared certain that he must be taken, produced great excitement in England, where the popular anger vented and, as usual, exhausted itself in a ludicrous caricature of Nelson in the act of assisting the toilette of Lady Hamilton, while the Muiron and Carrère were passing in full sail between his legs.

On the 8th of October, they entered the roads of Fréjus. They did not know how to answer the signals, the code of which had been altered, and were fired upon by the batteries; but their bold entry, the crowd on their decks, and their signs of joy, soon banished this distrust, and no sooner was it known that Napoleon was on board, than the sea was covered with boats. Sounds of enthusiastic welcome filled the air; the quarantine regulations were forgotten or disregarded; and Napoleon once more landed on the shores of France, crowds pressing towards him from all quarters, with shouts of "We prefer the plague to the Austrians."







## CHAPTER XVI.

ENTHUSIASM IN FRANCE AT NAPOLEON'S RETURN—HE ARRIVES IN PARIS—JOSEPHINE—THE DIRECTORY—STATE OF PARTIES—SIEYES—BERNADOTTE—MOREAU—REVOLUTION OF THE 18TH AND 19TH BRUMAIRE—NAPOLEON FIRST CONSUL.



THE shout of welcome with which Napoleon was hailed at his first landing, was echoed by the whole population of France. A telegraphic dispatch gave notice in Paris of his arrival at Fréjus, and the news spread with rapidity through the capital, where it created a sensation similar to that produced by a great victory gained. It was announced at the Council of Five Hundred, and at the theatres; and soon formed the subject of universal conversa-

tion, and nearly as universal congratulation. Baudin, the deputy from the Ardennes, who had grieved over the late disasters of the country, died of joy when he heard that Napoleon had returned. All this clearly

proves the want of confidence in the government, which then pervaded the public mind in France; but is far from affording any suggestion that Republican forms had ceased to be popular. Napoleon was regarded as the champion of liberty, as well as the successful military leader; and none of his actions nor expressed opinions had as yet contradicted such an estimation of his principles. In the course of the rapid journey which he made from Fréjus to Paris, he was greeted with raptures of joy wherever he was recognised. The bells were rung in the villages, flags hoisted from the steeples, and the towns were illuminated at night. This enthusiastic spirit was manifested very strongly at Lyons, where Napoleon had always been extremely popular. The accounts of his victory at Aboukir had immediately preceded him; and this brilliant success dazzled the imagination, and quite obliterated all memory of his utter discomfiture at Acre. He entered Paris without being known, and alighted quietly at his own house in the Rue de la Victoire on the 16th of October. Josephine had hurried off to meet him the moment that the telegraphic dispatch announced his landing; had missed him on the road, in consequence of his suddenly changing his route, and had not yet returned. On her arrival, he received her with studied coldness. He continued for three days to treat her with outward indifference, while ideas of divorce, and renewed irritation from the jealousy previously excited by Junot, were working in his mind. It would probably be more correct to say, that his "Queen of the East" had not yet been finally hurled from her throne in his memory. The interval, exquisitely painful as it must have been for Josephine, was not of long duration, and terminated in an entire reconciliation. She resumed her former place in his affections, and their union was never disturbed again by a similar cause.

Napoleon visited the directors at the Luxembourg on the day after his arrival. The interview was cold, and chiefly occupied in explanations on the part of Napoleon as to the condition and prospects of the army in Egypt, and his own reasons for returning to France. These he stated to be, that having suddenly learned the losses and disasters which had befallen the country, he had hastened to its defence. The directors were able to assume a more advantageous position in the conference, than they would have been at an earlier period. On the very eve of Napoleon's return, the succession of misfortunes which had attended the French armies in Holland and on the Rhine, had been suddenly checked. General Brune had compelled the Anglo-Russian army to evacuate Holland; and Massena had gained an important victory over the Russians under Korsakow, on the Limmat; Suwarrow having been forced in consequence, to retreat before General Lecourbe. The directors finished the conference by offering Napoleon the choice of any



army he would command. He did not refuse, but pleaded the necessity of a short interval of leisure for the recovery of his health, and speedily withdrew, in order to avoid any more such embarrassing offers. He had by this time, a very clear perception of the course before him, and had made up his mind to place himself in circumstances to confer high offices and commands, instead of accepting them. While maturing his plans, he lived in the same retired manner which had marked his residence in Paris after the Italian campaign. He avoided the public gaze; accepted few invitations; went to the theatres with all possible precautions against observation, and surrounded himself with a circle of acquaintances in his own house. A grand public dinner was given in honour of him, by the Council of Five Hundred, which he attended, but retired very early. He gave one toast in the course of the evening, which was sufficiently ominous, though not noticed at the time:—"The union of all parties."

Considerable changes had taken place in the state of parties during the year that Napoleon was absent. The Directory, which then consisted of Barras, Reubel, Treilhard, Merlin, and Reveilliere Lepaux, now retained only one of these names. Barras alone continued in office. Reubel had retired in order of rotation, and had been succeeded by the Abbé Sieyes: Treilhard had been displaced on account of some informality in his election: the two others, menaced with impeachments for peculation and misgovernment, had resigned their offices. Their places were supplied by Roger Ducos, Gohier, and Moulins. The Directory, as it now existed, was weak in the extreme, from the divisions among its members, and from the character of each, individually. Barras was profligate and extravagant, and so fearful of being called to a severe account for his peculations and extortions that he could not act with vigour. Ducos was half a Royalist, but always followed Sieyes. Gohier and Moulins were Republicans, and devoted adherents of the constitution of the year Three, but were men of very moderate abilities. Sieyes, the most talented of them all, had accepted a place in the Directory, chiefly with a view to obtaining an increase of power, in order to overturn the directorial constitution altogether, and establish on its ruins his own favourite theory of government. Sieyes had been well known in France at the time of the Revolution. He was then a violent Republican, and wrote a pamphlet explaining the nature of "The Third Estate," which created a great sensation. It was he who had the merit of introducing the measure for dividing France into departments, by which the mischievous distinctions and unequal privileges of provinces were abolished. He was not at all prominent during the reign of terror, and came in with the moderate party after the death of Robespierre. Having by this time established a character for metaphysical subtlety and political skill, he was appointed one of the Committee of Eleven to whom was confided



the charge of framing the new constitution. Sieyes fulfilled his part of the task by the composition of a complete system of government, which he proposed for adoption. The members of this system were to have been, a Grand Elector, as the chief executive officer; two Consuls, one for peace, the other for war; a Legislative body; a Council of State, to discuss and propose measures on the part of the government; and a Tribunal, to perform the same functions on the part of the people. The power of each of these offices was so nicely adjusted, so carefully divided, weighed and balanced against the power of the others, that it appears most likely the whole would have presented the appearance of a body incapable of moving in any one direction. To ensure the continuance of this constitution, a Conservative Senate was to be appointed. Its members had no power of action or legislation, but were to be invested with power to call in to their own body any individual who appeared likely to endanger the constitution; thus rendering him powerless for good or evil. The plan was rejected, and the directorial government, or constitution of the year Three, was established. Sieyes accepted the situation of ambassador to Prussia, upon the rejection of his scheme, but had returned to Paris in 1799, and obtained a place in the Directory, full of hope that the time was nearly ripe for the establishment of his favourite system. The two republican directors were supported by a majority in the Council of Five Hundred, and by all the democratic party, which was now called the "Manége," from their club of that name. Jourdan, Angereau, and Bernadotte were the leaders of this party. Sieyes was at the head of the "Moderés," who formed the majority of the Council of Ancients, and Ducos followed his movements. Barras had no party or adherents; but wavered, and was even suspected of tampering with the Royalists.

This was the state of parties, into the midst of which Napoleon suddenly threw himself. His first idea was, as it had been on a former occasion, to get himself chosen a director; but the law, requiring the attainment of the age of forty, was again an insuperable obstacle. Perceiving the endeavour to be hopeless, he quickly resolved to overturn the directorial government, and establish another, wherein he should place himself in that position of power towards which he aimed. His intentions were no sooner suspected than he was surrounded by all those who were discontented with the established government, and who found in him such a leader as they had long looked for in vain. He had to choose with whom to unite himself; to observe which, among the leading men of the time, were likely to bend to his will and amalgamate with his party, and which among them he must reckon as likely to oppose him. He balanced between Sieyes and Barras for a short time, being determined to win over one or other of them. Sieyes and himself entertained

a mutual dislike, and this had grown on his part from his hatred of all "men of systems." He made no secret of his antipathy; so that Sieyes, on one occasion of marked disrespect shewn towards him by Napoleon, exclaimed to some one near him, "See how that little insolent fellow behaves to the member of a government which would do well to order him to be shot." These private piques, however, gave way before the evident expediency of a junction between him and Sieyes. Barras had no power or influence to compare in extent with that possessed by Sieyes; and besides, he imprudently betrayed to Napoleon that he had personally ambitious views of his own. Sieyes had none; he simply longed to establish his "system." This is a kind of ambition much more easily regulated than the desire for power, and Napoleon did not fear that he should find the means of keeping it in abeyance, particularly as the Abbé was fond of money, and might be quieted by a handsome provision. He commanded a majority in the Council of Ancients; was at the head of that large party known by the name of "Moderés;" and led Ducos, who was sure to follow in his track. These considerations determined Napoleon. He opened a negociation with Sieyes; and had no sooner convinced him that the project of overturning the directorial government was his object, than he was regarded as the instrument destined to give to France that "systematic" constitution so long deliberated and desired. His overtures were cordially met, and Sieyes gave all the weight of his influence to the impending revolution. Two men whose names have since been known all over Europe, were also added to the number of his adherents: Talleyrand, who had been recently deposed from a place in the ministry; and Fouché, minister of police. The talents of both were actively employed in his service, and materially promoted his success. He had no faith in Fouché, and used him without giving him his confidence. Lucien Bonaparte held the important post of President of the Council of Five Hundred; a circumstance highly advantageous to his brother at this juncture. It was there that the greatest opposition would be made to any attempt which was hostile to the constitution of the year Three. A large portion of the army was certain to side with Napoleon. His house was now the resort of all the generals and men of note who had served under him in his campaigns of Italy and Egypt, Bernadotte alone standing aloof. His staunch republicanism was startled by the evident growth of power and ambition which he saw in his former general-in-chief, and he mixed little in his society, and continually opposed his sentiments and opinions when they met. Josephine had occasion more than once to exert that grace and address for which she was so celebrated, to prevent open quarrels. Bernadotte had been minister of war (having lately resigned that office to Dubois de Crancé, a man of less force of character), and had he still

held that situation, he would have been a formidable antagonist. Moreau, having influence over one part of the army, might prove dangerous; but Napoleon rightly judged that his ambition was not political, but military, and might therefore be satisfied, without danger to the object now in view.

A meeting took place between Napoleon and Sieyes on the 6th of November, in which it was finally determined that the revolution should be attempted on the 9th. This day, called, in the history of the period, the 18th Brumaire, was exactly one month from the day of Napoleon's landing at Fréjus. The measures resolved upon were as follows:—The Council of Ancients, taking advantage of an article in the constitution, which authorised the measure, were to decree the removal of the legislative bodies to St. Cloud. They were next to appoint Napoleon commander-in-chief of their own guard, of the troops of the military division of Paris, and of the national guard. These decrees were to be passed at seven in the morning; at eight, Napoleon was to go to the Tuileries, where the troops should be assembled, and there assume the command of the capital.

Every arrangement was made in accordance with these resolutions. It should be mentioned, that when Napoleon first arrived in Paris, some regiments of dragoons had begged the honour of being reviewed by him. The request was granted, but the day not fixed. Thirty or forty adjutants of the National Guard, together with the officers of the garrison, and many others, had made similar requests, and severally received a courteous acquiescence, without specifying the day. The day, however, was at hand, and the same day was named for all.

On the 17th, Napoleon sent to all the officers of the forces, about to be placed under his command, inviting them to a meeting at his house in the Rue de la Victoire, at six o'clock the following morning, and appointed a grand review, of the troops in the Champs Elysées at seven; averting any suspicion which might be excited by these extremely early hours by feigning that he was about to set off on a journey.

All occurred as it had been predetermined. Early on the morning of the 18th Brumaire, the house of Napoleon, was crowded with a large assemblage of officers. It was too small to hold them all; many were in the court-yard and entrances. Numbers of these were devoted to him; a few were in the secret; and all began to suspect that something extraordinary was going forward. Every one was in uniform except Bernadotte, who appeared in plain clothes. Displeased at this mark of separation from the rest, Napoleon said hastily, "How is this? you are not in uniform!" "I never am on a morning when I am not on duty;" replied Bernadotte. "You will be on duty presently;" rejoined Napoleon. "I have not heard a word of it: I should have received my



orders sooner," answered the impracticable Republican. Napoleon now drew him aside; frankly disclosed his views; told him the directorial government was detested, and could no longer exist; invited him to take part with the new movement, and to follow to the Tuileries with the rest. Bernadotte only answered that "he would not take part in a rebellion;" and with some difficulty, made a half promise of neutrality. Napoleon now only waited for the arrival of the decrees of the Council of Ancients: they had passed, and the moment they were brought to him, he came forward to the steps in front of his house; read the documents which announced the removal of the legislative bodies, in order to deliberate with greater security on the important measures required by the state of the country, and his own nomination to the command of the troops. He then invited them all to follow him to the Tuileries. His address was well received. General Lefevre, the commandant of Paris, shewed signs of disapprobation; but Napoleon suddenly turned towards him, demanding whether he would follow him, or return to the "lawyers;" and the appeal was instantly successful. The whole assemblage held themselves in readiness to follow, with the exception of Bernadotte, who, as the others passed him in succession, quietly took his leave. Napoleon now despatched the officers of the National Guard to beat the *generale*, and proclaim the new decrees in all the quarters of Paris; and then, mounting his horse, proceeded, in company with Generals Bournonville, Moreau, Macdonald, and all the other generals and officers, to the Tuileries, where ten thousand men under arms awaited his arrival. On his way, he attended at the bar of the Council of Ancients, according to their summons; and there, surrounded by his numerous staff, promised to enforce the decrees which had just been announced to him.

After a brilliant review, Napoleon delivered the following address to the troops:—"Soldiers, the extraordinary decree of the Council of Ancients, which is conformable to articles Nos. 102 and 103 of the Constitution, has appointed me to the command of the city and army. I accept that appointment with the view of seconding the measures which the Council is about to adopt, and which are entirely favourable to the people. The Republic has been badly governed for two years past. You hoped that my return would put an end to the evil. You have celebrated that return in a way which imposes on me duties which I am ready to perform. You will also perform your duty, and second your general with the energy, firmness, and confidence you have always manifested. Liberty, victory, and peace, will restore the French Republic to the rank it has occupied in Europe, and which it could have lost only by folly and treason." This harangue was received with acclamations. General proclamations, much to the same effect, and addressed to the citizens, were

posted in various quarters of Paris, where they produced excessive excitement and much discussion. The friends of liberty now began to fear that their favourite general was about to play the part of Caesar or Cromwell. Napoleon had been prepared for this; and with the foregoing proclamations, a dialogue on the affairs of the day, was also placarded at the doors of the Councils, and distributed in different reading rooms. In this dialogue, the parts played by those illustrious usurpers of former times, were designated as "bad parts; parts worn out; unworthy of a man of sense, even if they were not so of a man of honour." "It would be nothing less," continued this specious discourse, "than a sacrilegious ambition to make any attempt against a representative government in the present age of knowledge and liberty. He would be a mere fool who would wantonly stake the Republic against European royalty, after having contended for it with so much glory and peril."

The message of the Council of Ancients, intimating the removal of the legislative bodies to St. Cloud, was received with considerable surprise in the Council of Five Hundred. They had no choice, however, but to comply with the laws, and adjourned till next day amidst shouts of "Long live the Republic and the Constitution." The galleries echoed the cry; and the zealous adherents of democracy, who were accustomed to attend the debates, determined to transfer themselves also to St. Cloud. It was evident that the revolution would meet with a determined opposition in this council.

Sieyes and Ducos were already at the Tuileries, ready to take part in the movement. Barras waited at the Luxembourg to receive Napoleon, who had made an appointment with him; and his anxiety and fears increased as it began to grow evident that his expected guest did not intend to appear. He had laughed at the awkward appearance of Sieyes as he passed on horseback to the Tuileries, little suspecting his errand; but now, seriously alarmed, he despatched Bottot, his secretary, to Napoleon, to expostulate with him. The messenger found Napoleon at the Tuileries, surrounded by a large group of officers and soldiers, before whom Barras, or rather the Directory in his person, was haughtily upbraided by the successful general, who now began to assume a tone of high command. "What have you done," said Napoleon, "for that France which I left you so flourishing? I left you peace; I have found war. I left you victories; I have found defeats. I left you the wealth of Italy; I have found spoliation and penury. What have you done with a hundred thousand Frenchmen whom I knew, all my companions in glory? They are dead! This state of things cannot last. Before the end of three years it would lead us to despotism. According to some, we shall all be shortly enemies to the Republic; we, who have preserved it by our efforts and our courage! We have no occasion for



better patriots than the brave men who have shed their blood in its defence." Barras instantly resigned his office; the reports of his secretary, aided by the advice of Talleyrand, having assured him he had no other course. His submission was couched in terms somewhat abject. "The weal of the Republic, and his zeal for liberty, alone," he said, "could have ever induced him to undertake the burden of a public office; but seeing the destinies of the Republic were now in the custody of her youthful and invincible general, he gladly resigned his authority." He was immediately sent to his country seat with a military guard. Gohier and Moulins waited at their posts in the Luxembourg, where their very zeal and respect for the constitution disabled them from moving in its defence. By one of its fundamental laws, less than three directors were forbidden to deliberate; they, therefore, continued inactive until they found themselves prisoners in their own apartments, under a guard commanded by Moreau, whom Napoleon had appointed his aide-de-camp, in this manner dexterously averting any rivalry on the part of that able general who was a slave to military discipline, and implicitly obeyed the orders of his general-in-chief, whom in his diplomacies he might have refused to follow. The two directors made, however, one faint effort by writing to the Council of Ancients:—"Citizens, representatives! A great aggression has been committed, which, doubtless is only the prelude to still greater offences. The directorial palace has been taken possession of by an armed force. It is now necessary to proclaim the public in danger! Whatever may be the fate reserved for us, we swear fidelity to the constitution of the year Three. May our oaths not prove to be the last cries of expiring liberty." Signed, "The two directors, Moulins and Gohier, prisoners in their palace." This letter fell into the hands of Napoleon; and the two directors, finding their cause hopeless, sent in their resignations, which Sieyes and Ducos had already done. The Directory was thus finally dissolved. All the events of the 18th Brumaire, so far as they had proceeded, were thus favourable to the ultimate designs of Napoleon.

A more arduous undertaking awaited him on the 19th, when it was necessary he should prepare for the result of the meeting of the two councils. Whatever obstacles might yet oppose themselves to his hopes, could only exist in those bodies. Sieyes had recommended that forty of the leaders of the opposition should be arrested; but Napoleon would not consent, believing himself strong enough to carry his point without resorting to so obnoxious a measure. He had, however, sent a large armed force to St. Cloud, under the command of Murat; and about one o'clock on the 19th he repaired thither himself, attended by Berthier, Lefevre, Lannes, and all the generals most in his confidence. Upon his arrival, he learned that a hot debate had commenced in the Council of



Ancients, on the subject of the resignation of the directors, and the immediate election of others. Judging it expedient at this crisis to present himself in the assembly without delay, Napoleon hastily and somewhat angrily entered the hall, accompanied only by Berthier and by Bourrienne, who attended as his secretary. He walked rapidly up the narrow passage which led to the centre of the hall, and fronted Lemerrier, the president. Napoleon had now to endure a series of rapid interrogations from the president, relating to the proceedings of the previous day, and the present position of affairs, which betrayed suspicions of the use he was about to make of the important military command with which the assembly had invested him. His answers were irritable, ambiguous, and confused, and little or nothing to the point. The words collected together, without the interruption of the president's questions, were much to the following effect:—"You are placed upon a volcano: let me tell you the truth with the frankness of a soldier. Citizens, I was living tranquil with my family, when the commands of the Council of Ancients called me to arms. I collected my brave military companions: we are rewarded with calumny: they compare me to Cromwell—to Caesar. I have had opportunities of usurping the supreme authority before now, had I desired it. I swear to you, the country has not a more disinterested patriot. We are surrounded by dangers and by civil war. Let us not hazard the loss of those advantages for which we have made such sacrifices—liberty and equality." A member named Linglet interrupted him at these words, by exclaiming, "You forget the constitution!" This elicited from Napoleon a more connected and more sincere avowal of his intentions than any which he had yet given. "The constitution!" he answered; "it was violated on the 18th Fructidor—on the 22nd Floreal—on the 30th Prairial. All parties have invoked it—all have disregarded it in turn. It can be no longer a means of safety to any one, since it obtains the respect of no one." Raising his voice, he then hinted at a conspiracy against liberty, in which he had been invited to join. A great tumult arose in the hall at these words, and he was called upon to "name the conspirators"—to "conceal nothing." When his voice could be again heard, he was making, not the desired explanations, but fresh accusations. "The Council of Five Hundred," he said, "wished for scaffolds, revolutionary committees, and a complete overthrow of everything." In the midst of the violent excitement which he thus produced, and the fierce disapprobation and contests which were now growing louder in the hall, he abruptly walked away. Rallying at the uproar which pursued him, he turned round at the door, and called upon the Council to assist him in saving the country; and with the words, "Let those who love me follow me!" passed quickly out, reached the courtyard, where he shewed the soldiers the order from the Council of



Ancients, and then leaped upon his horse, shouts of "Vive Bonaparte!" resounding on all sides.

That he had made a most wretched figure before the chief legislative assembly of his country, is sufficiently evident, though the accounts vary among writers; some of whom put a very excellent and connected speech into his mouth, while others would have it appear that he uttered nothing but a broken jargon of fierce and bewildered follies. But it is plain, judging from this and other occasions, that the commanding power of oratory which Napoleon really possessed, was absolutely limited to his position of command. In exhortation, denunciation, accusation, and attack, he was hardly to be surpassed or withstood; but when denounced himself, and closely interrogated, his faculties were confused, and his eloquence quite deserted him. The reason of this is to be sought, not in any want of courage or fortitude, but in his habits of authority rendering his temper ungoverned, and in the deep-designing character of his mind, to which the suddenness of close interrogations seemed an outrage, because the answers would naturally involve the disclosure of the very things which, of all others, he most wished to keep secret. It may seem a ridiculous fact, yet we may fairly infer that he went to this Council quite unprepared to answer any of their questions, and was consequently

astonished, confounded, and enraged, when he found himself in such a position. The novelty also of being in the midst of a furious contest in which no mortal blows were dealt, seemed to produce upon him the paralysing effect of a nightmare. Nevertheless, during the greater part of this eventful day, he was so self-possessed that Bourrienne says, most characteristically, "He was as calm as at the opening of 'a great battle.'"

The sittings of the Council of Five Hundred, under the presidency of Lucien Bonaparte, had commenced with demonstrations of hostility to Napoleon, which made immediate measures on his part imperatively necessary. The members had been kept waiting for some time, while the Orangery of the palace, the place destined for their hall of debate, was prepared for them by the workmen. The circumstance had reminded them of a famous passage in the history of the French Revolution, when the National Assembly, expelled from Versailles, took refuge in a tennis-court. The recollection inflamed the resolution of all the Republicans present, and they entered, at length, in a humour which boded no good to the innovators. The business of the day was opened by a speech from Gaudin (one of the members of the moderate party, in the interest of Sieyes and Napoleon), who moved that a committee of seven should be appointed to report upon the state of the Republic, and that measures should be taken to open a communication with the Council of Ancients. Exclamations and clamours now arose on every side. "The constitution!—The constitution or death!—Down with the dictatorship!"—these were the sounds which seemed to proceed from every mouth. Gaudin was dragged from the tribune, Lucien in vain endeavouring to preserve order. A member now started forward to propose that all present should take an oath to preserve the Constitution of the year Three! Amidst acclamations which silenced all resistance, every member present was forced to take the oath. The moderates, even Lucien himself, who was leagued with its destroyers, were all hurried on without the power of refusal. In the midst of the excitement which followed the ceremony, a letter was received from Barras, resigning his office. Lucien read the document aloud to the assembly. The resignation was received with contempt, as the act of a soldier deserting his post at the moment of danger; and one passage in the letter renewed the violence which had in some degree abated. It was this:—"The glory which accompanies the return of the illustrious warrior to whom I had the honour of opening the path of glory; the striking marks of confidence given him by the legislative body, and the decree of the Council of Ancients, convince me that, to whatever post he may be called, the dangers of liberty will be averted, and the interests of the army ensured." The tumult occasioned by these words was hushed by a very different sound: the clash of arms







NAPOLEON DISSOLVING THE COUNCIL OF FIVE HUNDRED.

was heard at the entrance; bayonets, drawn swords, plumed hats and the caps of grenadiers were seen without, and Napoleon entered, attended by four grenadiers of the constitutional guard of the councils. The soldiers remained near the door, while he walked uncovered and with measured steps up the hall. He had not advanced above one-third of its length, when all the deputies suddenly rose. Stunning cries resounded from all sides:—"Down with the tyrant!—down with the Dictator!—the sanctuary of the laws is violated!" A large body of the members rushed towards Napoleon. He attempted to speak, but his voice was drowned by cries of "The Republic for ever! The Constitution for ever! Out-law the Dictator!" Several seized him by the collar. It is said, that Arena, a native of Corsica, aimed a dagger at his breast; but whether this be true or false, it is certain that he was seized by two or three members, and overwhelmed with violent reproaches. The grenadiers at this sight hurried forward, exclaiming, "Let us save our general!" and bore him from the assembly almost insensible, whether from the personal violence he had sustained, excessive rage, or dismay, or all combined. In the scuffle, one of them, named Thomé, is said to have been slightly wounded by a dagger. Napoleon was quickly in the midst of his soldiers, and found ready ears and enthusiastic spirits to listen to his excited words.





It was at this moment that Augereau, whose faith in his former general's fortune began to waver, is said to have addressed him with the words, "A fine situation you have brought yourself into!" Upon which Napoleon answered, "Augereau, things were worse at Arcola. Take my advice, remain quiet; in a short time all this will change." Meantime the commotion in the Council rose to the highest pitch, and Lucien was called upon to put the outlawry of his brother to the vote. Unable to obtain a hearing, he threw on his desk his president's hat and scarf, and amidst a storm of contention renounced his seat. At this moment, a party of six grenadiers, sent by Napoleon, entered the hall, surrounded Lucien, and carried him off into the midst of the soldiers. With instant presence of mind, he mounted on horseback, and raising his powerful voice, addressed the troops, as president of the Council of Five Hundred, in a speech, far more remarkable for its dexterity than its adherence to the truth:—"Citizens, General Bonaparte, and Soldiers!" he said, "the president of the Council of Five Hundred, declares to you, that the majority of that Council is held in terror by a few representatives of the people, who are armed with stilettoes, and who surround the tribune, threatening their colleagues with death, and maintaining most atrocious discussions! I declare to you, that these brigands, who are doubtless in the pay of England, have risen in rebellion against the Council of Ancients, and have dared to talk of outlawing the general who is charged with the execution of its decree, as if the word "outlaw" was still to be regarded as the death-warrant of persons most beloved by their country. I declare to you, that these madmen have outlawed themselves, by their attempts upon the liberty of the Council. In the name of that people, which for so many years has been the sport of terrorism, I consign to you the task of rescuing the majority of their representatives; so that, delivered from stilettoes by bayonets, they may deliberate on the fate of the republic. General! and you, soldiers! and you, citizens! you will not acknowledge as legislators of France any but those who rally round me. As for those who remain in the Orangery, let force expel them; they are not the representatives of the people, but the representatives of the poniard!" The soldiers received this harangue with shouts of "Vive Bonaparte!" Still there was an appearance of hesitation, and it did not seem certain that they were ready to act against the representatives of the people, till Lucien drew his sword, and vehemently exclaimed, "I swear that I will stab my own brother to the heart, if he ever attempt any thing against the liberty of Frenchmen!" This energetic piece of well-timed dramatic effect was sufficient to rouse the enthusiasm of the excitable people before whom it was acted. They were now ready to obey any order from Napoleon. At a signal from him, Murat, at the head of a body of grenadiers, entered the Orangery.

The deputies were debating in a state of wild indecision and anxiety, when the military slowly entered. Murat, as they moved forward, notified to the Council the order that it should disperse. A few of the members instantly retired, but the majority remained firm; and one or two, amongst whom was General Jourdan, reminded the troops of the enormity of their present proceeding. There was a slight appearance of wavering among them, when a reinforcement entered in close column, headed by General Leclerc; who said loudly, "In the name of General Bonaparte, the legislative corps is dissolved; let all good citizens retire. Grenadiers, forward!" The furious and indignant cries of the members were drowned by the sound of drums. The grenadiers advanced, levelling their muskets, with fixed bayonets, and occupying the whole width of the Orangery. They thus drove the legislative body before them: the members fled on all sides, most of them jumping from the windows, and leaving behind them their official caps, scarfs, and gowns. In a few minutes, not one remained. The singular resemblance of this act of violence to the scene which terminated the sitting of the Long Parliament by Cromwell, has been universally noticed.

The Council of Ancients was still sitting, and the extraordinary proceeding which had just taken place naturally caused great uneasiness there; but Lucien, in his character of president of the Five Hundred, repaired to them instantly, and made such explanations and plausible statements of the recent scenes of contest and violence, as were deemed satisfactory. They adjourned till eleven at night. The interval was passed by Napoleon in earnest consultation with Talleyrand and Sieyès, who were at St. Cloud; and by Lucien in endeavouring to collect a few members of the Council of Five Hundred, in order to legalise the decrees which it was intended should be passed. About thirty members were all that could be got together. This shadow of the younger legislative assembly, together with the Council of Ancients, commenced their nocturnal sitting at the appointed hour. Thanks were voted to Napoleon and the troops; so docile had the assemblies become. A decree was passed to the effect that the Directory existed no longer, and that sixty-one individuals, whose names were read, were no longer members of the national representation, on account of the excesses and illegal acts of which they had been guilty, and more particularly the greatest part of them, in their sitting of the morning; and, finally, a Provisional Consular Commission, consisting of Sieyès, Ducos, and Napoleon, was charged with the executive power; while two committees, consisting of five-and-twenty members each, were chosen from the two legislative bodies, to prepare the new constitution in concert with the consuls. While these measures were passing, Napoleon was dictating to his secretary a long and elaborate proclamation to the citizens of Paris. He adopted in it

the tone of Lucien's speech, enlarging on attempted assassination and illegal violence; and, without any regard to truth, asserted that which it was most expedient for him to assert, in order to produce his desired impression on the public mind. "Twenty assassins," he declares in this proclamation, "rushed upon me, and aimed at my breast. The grenadiers of the legislative body, whom I had left at the door of the hall, ran forward, and placed themselves between me and the assassins. One of these brave grenadiers (Thomé) had his clothes pierced by a stiletto." No evidence of the truth of this statement was ever attempted to be produced, except that one dagger was found on the floor, and that the coat of Thomé, the grenadier, was slightly torn. He was, however, declared by the legislature to have "deserved well of his country," and was honoured with notice and presents by Napoleon and Josephine. The whole was an outrageous exaggeration of the truth. At two o'clock in the morning of the 20th Brumaire, the provisional consul, appeared before the two councils to take the oath of "fidelity to the sovereignty of the people, to the French republic *one and indivisible*; to liberty, equality, and the representative system." The assemblies then separated, having adjourned for three months. The most profound tranquillity prevailed at St. Cloud, so lately the scene of such violence and contention; and Fouché was charged to exercise the utmost vigilance in preventing the entrance of any of the late members of the council into Paris.

It was three o'clock in the morning when Napoleon, accompanied by Bourrienne, entered his carriage to return to Paris. "He was completely absorbed in thought," says the secretary, "and did not utter a single word during the journey. But when he arrived at his house in the Rue de la Victoire, he had no sooner entered his chamber, and seen and re-assured Josephine, who was in bed, and in a state of the greatest anxiety on account of his long absence (though he had sent to her more than once during the day), than he said, "Bourrienne, I said many ridiculous things." "Not so very bad, General." "I like better to speak to soldiers than to lawyers. Those fellows confused me. I have not been used to public assemblies: but that will come in time." They then began a long chat, in the course of which he told Josephine all the events of the day, speculating on things and people. Josephine spoke of the interest she felt in Gohier, the ex-director, and his family. "What would you have, my dear?" said Napoleon: I cannot avert his misfortunes; he is a respectable simpleton: I ought, perhaps, to have him banished." Bernadotte, Moreau, and others came under discussion, the first consul amusing himself with his dexterous management of Moreau; and at last ending abruptly with, "Good-night, Bourrienne. By the way, we will sleep in the Luxembourg to-morrow."





A meeting of the three consuls took place in the morning. Sieyes, who had up to this moment conceived himself to be the head, and the others but the arms of the new constitution, asked, as a form of politeness, "Which of us is to preside?" "Do you not see," answered Ducos, "that the general presides?"

Napoleon did indeed most fully preside, not only over the councils of his colleagues, but over France. He had thoroughly overturned the constitutional forms of liberty, for which the enthusiastic and devoted struggles of so many years had contended. The fairest judgment of his conduct will be found in the careful consideration, first, of the state of France at the moment; and, secondly, of the use he made of his power. With regard to the former, we shall quote a passage from Hazlitt, in which the best, and indeed the only grounds of defence, are eloquently stated. "If the revolution had been firmly and securely established without him, and he had erased or undermined the stately fabric, to raise his own power upon the ruins, then he would have been entitled to the execration of the friends of freedom, and would have received the thanks of its hereditary enemies: but the building had already been endangered, and nodded to its fall; had been defaced and broken to pieces by internal discord and by foreign war; and the arch of power and ambition that he reared, stood on ground forfeited over and over again to humanity."

The foregoing arguments are not to be regarded as proceeding from an enthusiastic admirer of Napoleon, but as proceeding from a man who was himself one of the most powerful, disinterested, and uncompromising advocates of freedom that ever lived. It is for this latter reason that we feel bound to give a careful consideration of the grounds of his

opinions on the present equally momentous and complicated question. Admitting all that he says of the condition of France and its government at the time, and that "the arch of power and ambition which Napoleon reared, stood on ground forfeited over and over again to humanity," by a long series of tyrannies, abuses, errors, and imbecilities, we are still compelled to ask, why did not Napoleon establish and maintain constitutional liberty, instead of rearing that arch of personal power and ambition? The shortest answer to this is perhaps the best: whatever had been the principles with which he had commenced his career, he was no longer to be regarded as the champion of liberty; and he did not wish France to continue a Republic. The other side of the question is fraught with difficulties, in which we have to consider whether he *could* have maintained such a popular form of government, and yet have been able to exercise his utmost means, though controlled by popular forms, to defend France from the new coalition which was established soon after the rejection by England of his proposals for peace. As to Napoleon's private thoughts and principles on the matter, they may be thus estimated: he was a soldier, not a philosopher; a plotting statesman, not a pure patriot. Accustomed, by the force of his character, and by long habit, to command men, he eventually came to despise them, and believed the people unfit for self government, and France most especially so at that time, when she had but recently broken her bonds of slavery, and been obliged to wage war ever since. Touching the criminality of his usurpation—if it be correct to use that indefinite expression—we must look to the crowned heads of Europe, whose coalition against the republican principles and struggles of the French nation, were the cause of its government being thrown into a condition which inevitably rendered it an easy prey for any description of military despotism.

Napoleon at this time had two colleagues, nominally equal in authority with himself. Their power faded away before they had time even to commence its exercise. Sieyes had expected that Napoleon would content himself with the supreme command of all the armies, and had no idea that he was conversant with, or wished to interfere in profound and extensive political affairs and projects. He was, however, so astonished at the knowledge displayed by Napoleon in questions of administration, even to the minutest details, and in every department, that when their first conference was concluded, he hurried to Talleyrand, Cabanis, and other counsellors, assembled at St. Cloud, exclaiming, "Gentlemen, you have now a master. He knows everything, arranges every thing, and can accomplish everything."



## CHAPTER XVII.

FIRST SITTING OF THE CONSULAR GOVERNMENT AT THE LUXEMBOURG—JUST AND POPULAR MEASURES—FORMATION OF THE MINISTRY—DEBATES ON THE NEW FORM OF GOVERNMENT—SIEYES AND DUCOS RETIRE—DECLARATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE YEAR EIGHT—NAPOLEON, CAMBACERES, AND LEBRUN, CONSULS—LETTER TO THE KING OF ENGLAND—NAPOLEON RESIDES IN THE TUILERIES—FUNERAL HONOURS TO WASHINGTON.



THE provisional consuls held their second sitting at the Luxembourg on the day which followed their installation. The two directors, Gohier and Moulins, having received a notification that they were at liberty, had left the seat of government ready to receive the new rulers. The revolution was now completely effected without the

effusion of blood, and the utmost clemency was observed in its establishment. Sixty individuals were indeed at first sentenced to deportation; but this severe measure, which originated in the timid policy of Sieyes, was never executed. The decree was altered into a command that they should repair to certain communes of France, which were named, and remain there until further orders.



The new government found the affairs of the country in a wretched condition; every department required to be reformed, or re-modelled. The treasury was nearly empty: on the second day of the consulate there were not twelve hundred francs disposable to give to a courier, whom it was requisite to despatch on matters of state. The minister at war was unable to produce any returns of the pay, clothing, or victualling of the army, which was, in general, in a condition of great privation and insubordination, the divisions which were abroad being dependant for all their supplies on forced requisitions on foreign countries, and those at home on encroachments upon the treasury. The most important changes in the administration of justice; in the internal regulations, and external relations of the country, were imperatively requisite.

M. Collet, who had served under Napoleon in Italy, came forward nobly to the assistance of the government in its embarrassing financial position. He instantly supplied the treasury with 500,000 francs in gold. For this important service, Bourrienne asserts that he was badly rewarded by Napoleon: the money was not repaid for a very long time, and then without interest. This piece of ingratitude, it is extremely likely, is a true charge. Napoleon was accustomed to regard all financiers as cheats and swindlers on a large scale; and to consider anything of which he could defraud them, as so much saved from theft; and he may very reprehensibly have made no exception even of such a case as this.

The first business of the consuls was to re-model the ministry. Nearly all the appointments bore witness to that extraordinary power of judging of the capabilities of men, for which Napoleon was so remarkable. He sought earnestly for talent, completely disregarding party prejudices, and employing men of all shades of political opinion. The office of minister of finance was entrusted to Gaudin, afterwards Duke of Gaeta, who had long been employed in that department. He began his difficult task with conscientious integrity and zeal, neither resting night nor day until he had devised a plan to reform the glaring abuses which he discovered. The compulsory loan, which had produced the most pernicious effects on property, and created the utmost discontent, he instantly suppressed. The wise measures which he adopted, and by which he shortly placed the finances in a flourishing condition, were perfected during fifteen years of an able administration. Berthier was made minister at war, an arduous post, considering the situation of the army, but it was soon brought into the finest possible condition. Cambacérès retained the post of minister of justice. He was an able lawyer, and had been one of the men of the revolution, though of a noble family of Languedoc. Reinhard, the minister for foreign affairs, did not immediately lose his place, but was soon afterwards succeeded by Talleyrand. Forfait, who had a great reputation as a naval architect, was put at the head of the

admiralty. He did not realise the expectations entertained of him ; but causes beyond the power of any single man, kept down the French navy. La Place was made minister of the interior ; but this great astronomer and mathematician proved quite incompetent to the details of his office. He soon returned to his high place in the scientific world, and left his share in the regulation of sublunary politics to Lucien Bonaparte. Monge was entrusted with the chief direction of the Polytechnic school, an institution then in its infancy ; and it became, under his charge, one of the most celebrated schools in the world, and of important service to the country. All these official appointments had been unanimously agreed upon by the three consuls ; or rather, Sieyes and Ducos had followed the opinion of Napoleon without any opposition : but a serious difference occurred on the subject of the minister of police. Napoleon determined to continue Fouché in that office. He admitted that Fouché was venal, sanguinary, and insincere ; yet, he contended, that his abilities made him too valuable to be dispensed with at this difficult period of affairs. Sieyes considered the government insecure so long as such a man was at the head of the police ; but the will of Napoleon prevailed, and Fouché continued in office.

Several most popular measures were passed without delay by the provisional consuls. The first of these was the repeal of the law of hostages ; by which all the relations of suspected emigrants, who had been thrown into prison according to that law, were at once released, and a joyful gratitude was spread all over France. The next measure resulted from a principle agreed upon by the government, that " Conscience was not amenable to the law ; and that the right of the sovereign power extended no farther than to the exaction of obedience and fidelity." In compliance with this principle, it was decreed that every priest who had been banished or imprisoned, and would take an oath of fidelity to the established government, should immediately be set at liberty, whatever were his religious persuasions. More than twenty thousand individuals were thus restored to their families soon after the passing of this law, some of whom had been in foreign countries, either in banishment in the isle of Rhé or Guiana, others in prison. Very few, by refusing to take the oaths, remained in exile for conscience sake. In conformity with the spirit of this decree, the churches were again opened for public worship, and Christians of every shade of opinion and peculiarity of forms, were permitted to keep the Sunday accordingly. The universal enforcement of the law of *décades*, which divided time by ten days instead of seven, was therefore repealed. In the same spirit of respect to the outward forms of all classes of the Christian world, the customary honours were ordered to be paid to the remains of Pope Pius VI. This unfortunate pontiff, who had been stripped of nearly all his domains by Napoleon in

his lifetime, now owed to his former conqueror the empty acknowledgment of his dignity by ceremonies performed over his senseless ashes. He died at Valence, where he had retired at the period when, as previously related, the directory had ordered the overturn of the Papal power, and established a shadow of the old Roman constitution, destined only to endure for a very short time. A measure of political toleration was adopted in conjunction with these theological concessions. All the names of those members of the constituent assembly who had formally acknowledged the sovereignty of the people, but who had been forced to leave France in the stormy times of the revolution, were struck off the list of emigrants. La Fayette, and his companions in captivity, were restored to France by this decree. Their property had never been alienated. Nine emigrants, some of them belonging to the oldest families of France, who had been wrecked on the coast several years before this period, and had since been detained in prison, were released and permitted to leave the country, by a special act, which originated with Napoleon.

The results of the popular satisfaction from these various measures began to shew themselves in the departments of France, where the civil war was raging. The chiefs of the Chouans, perceiving a vigorous hand at the helm of the state, already meditated laying down their arms; and it was not long before overtures were made by them to the government.

While these public measures were in course of progress, the arduous task of forming the new constitution approached to its completion. The three consuls and the two committees sat nightly from nine o'clock, and generally until three in the morning, in the apartments of Napoleon, at the Luxembourg, earnestly engaged in this business. The constitutional theory of the Abbé Sieyès was taken as the basis of their plans; and it was his occupation at every sitting to expound and elucidate the profound complexity of its several parts. Napoleon sat nightly, and said little whilst the learned Abbé built up his elaborate details, until he arrived at the summit of the transcendental fabric, viz. the grand elector: at this point, Napoleon rose, and expressed his opinion in very decided terms. "The grand elector," he said, "if he confine himself strictly to the functions you assign him, will be the shadow, but the mere fleshless shadow, of a *Roi fainéant*. And how do you think it possible that any man, either of the smallest talent or honour, would submit to the situation of a fatted hog in a sty, with some millions a year at his disposal? If he should choose to abuse his prerogative, you give him absolute power. If, for example, I became grand elector; when I appointed the consuls for war and peace, I would say to them, 'If you nominate a single minister, if you sign a single act, without my previous approbation, I will remove you.' But you reply, 'the Senate in its



turn will merge the grand elector.' This is worst of all; nobody, at this rate, has any guarantee. In another point of view, what will be the situation of these two prime ministers? One will have the ministers of justice, of the interior, of police, of finance, under his control; the other, those of the marine, of war, of external relations. The first will be surrounded only by judges, administrators, financiers, men of the long robe; the other, only by epaulettes and military men. The one will be wanting money and recruits for his armies,—the other will not furnish any. Such a government would be a monstrous chimera, composed of heterogeneous parts, and presenting nothing rational. It is a great mistake to suppose that the shadow of a thing can be of the same use as the thing itself."

Sieyès said very little in defence of his theory of government. He probably perceived at once that the death-warrant of his long-cherished system was signed. It was in vain to oppose an opinion so confidently expressed by the man who had all the power in his own hands. Whether it had been the intention of the Abbé to appropriate to himself the place of grand elector, making Napoleon his consul for war; or to endeavour to "absorb" the dangerous ambition of Napoleon in the powerless dignity of that "*Roi fainéant*," while his own abilities were employed in fulfilling the duties of consul for peace, is not certain. It became very clear to him now, however, that he had no chance of power under any form. After the first sitting of the consuls at the Luxembourg, he had remarked in a tone of great simplicity, while alluding to Napoleon in discoursing with a friend, "Really, I believe this man is working for himself!" This belief being soon converted into certainty, he determined to retire from public life altogether, and refused to accept of any situation whatever in the government. Napoleon endowed him with most of the private treasure amassed by the ex-directors. This sum, which is said to have amounted to twenty-four thousand pounds, was designated by Sieyès as a trifle for a temporary emergency ("*Une poire pour la soif*"). The addition, however, of the beautiful estate of Crosne quite satisfied him. In order to save his delicacy, a decree was passed, forcing him to accept this mark of the public gratitude. The office of a senator, and a salary of twenty-five thousand francs annexed to it, were furthermore added after the new constitution was formed. "In short," says Scott, "this celebrated metaphysician disappeared as a political person, and became, to use his own expression, *absorbed* in the pursuit of epicurean indulgences, which he covered with a veil of mystery." His external portrait, and the movements of his mind, are thus described by the subtle and graphic hand of Carlyle: "Behold him, the light thin man; cold, but elastic, wiry; instinct with the pride of logic; passionless, or with but one passion, that of self-conceit. If, indeed, that can be called a

passion which, in its independent concentrated greatness, seems to have soared into transcendentalism; and to sit there with a kind of godlike indifference, and look down on passion! He is the man, and wisdom shall die with him. This is the Sieyes who shall be system-builder, constitution-builder general: and build constitutions (as many as wanted) sky-high, which shall all unfortunately fall before he get the scaffolding away. ‘*La Politique*,’ said he to Dumont, ‘Polity is a science I think I have completed (achevée). What things, O Sieyes, with thy clear assiduous eyes art thou to see! But were it not curious to know how Sieyes now in these days (for he is said to be still (1834) alive) looks out on all that constitution masonry, through the rheumy soberness of extreme age? Might we hope still with the old irrefragable transcendentalism? The victorious cause pleased the gods, the vanquished one pleased Sieyes.” His colleague, Roger Ducos, followed his example, though his retirement was not attended with the same munificent rewards, and certainly not with the same sublimation of intellectual self-complacency. Thus was Napoleon left in sole power, without any nominal office whatever.

The new constitution, as at length decided upon, continued the executive power in the hands of three consuls, who were to be elected for the space of ten years, and were then eligible to re-election. The First Consul held powers very far superior to his colleagues. He alone had the right of nominating to all offices, civil and military, and of appointing nearly all functionaries whatsoever. He was to propose all new laws, and *originate* all measures for the internal and external defence of the country and its government. He was commander of all the forces, superintended all national relations, at home and abroad, and coined the public money. The two supplementary consuls were to be the indispensable councillors of the First Consul, but he was recognised to be independent of them.

“The Constitution of the year Eight, in destroying the system of two Chambers, substituted four political bodies in its place, viz.: The Council of State, the Tribune, the Legislative Body, and the Senate; and never was the maxim of *divide et impera* better exemplified.

“The duty of the Council of State was to communicate any proposed law to the Legislative body, and there to justify the proposal in the name of the government. The Tribune was to support the popular interests. The business of the Legislative body was to hear and to decide. Finally, the Senate was required to interpose when the Tribune declared that the constitution was violated.”\*

\* “Napoleon in Council,” translated from the French of Baron Pelet de la Lozère, by Captain Basil Hall, R. N.



According to the plan of the Abbé Sieyès, the people were to be divided into three classes, which should each of them declare a certain number of persons eligible to certain gradations of the state. Out of the three lists of names thus chosen, the various functionaries were to be appointed; the members of the Senate by the First Consul; the members of the Legislative body and of the Tribunate, by the Senate. The number of the senators was not to exceed eighty: their office was for life, with a high salary: they became incapable for ever of any other public duty: their sittings were not public; and after their first appointment the people were to interfere no further in their election. They were to supply vacancies in their own assembly by choosing the future senator from a list of three persons furnished by the First Consul, the Legislative body, and Tribunate. The number of the Legislative body was to be three hundred; and of the Tribunate one hundred. The Council of State was nominated by the First Consul, and its members could be dismissed at his pleasure.

This form of government, known as the Constitution of the year Eight, was published and submitted to the people on the 13th of December, 1799, and received the sanction of three millions, eleven thousand and seven votes; a number more than doubling those obtained by the constitution of 1792, and of the year Three.

Napoleon assumed the place of First Consul without question or debate. For coadjutors, he named Cambacérès, the late minister of justice, and Lebrun, a man long used to state affairs, and who, though sincerely attached to the Revolution, had influence with the royalist party, having been formerly connected with the business of the state under Chancellor Maupeou. Without waiting for the formation of the lists by popular choice, Napoleon appointed sixty senators with the assistance of his two councillors alone; these sixty nominated the three hundred members of the Legislative body, and the one hundred members of the Tribunate. The Council of State and the ministry were also expressly chosen by Napoleon himself. Every department of the government, therefore, emanated from the executive power, the people having had no voice whatever in the matter.

Notwithstanding this violation of both the spirit and letter of the new constitution, to an extent, the grossness of which was only to be surpassed by the calm audacity wherewith it was perpetrated; the new government was popular far beyond any of those which had been established in succession since the period of the Revolution. The people were at once dazzled and satisfied with the glory of Napoleon's name and talents, and contented under his just and vigorous administration. All parties found their condition improved and their grievances redressed; while their conviction that victory would soon



return to the national banners, now their successful general was at the head of affairs, was sufficient to reconcile France to the thorough demolition of its republican principles of government, and to the proportionate loss of the people's liberties.

Of all the classes best satisfied, it will be readily anticipated that the army was the strongest in its exultation at the position of the renowned leader who was identified with their greatest victories. The First Consul held frequent and splendid reviews of the troops. He traversed the ranks, now on horseback, now on foot; entering into the minutest details concerning the wants of the men and the service, and dispensing, in the name of the nation, distinctions and rewards. A hundred soldiers, who had signalised themselves in action, received from his hand the present of a handsome sabre each, on one of these occasions.



The first measure of Napoleon, after the establishment of his power, was to direct Talleyrand, who was now minister for foreign affairs, to open negotiations with the court of London in order to treat for peace. In expressing his earnest wish to obtain peace, Napoleon said to his secretary: "You see I have two great enemies to cope with; I will conclude peace with the one I find most easy to deal with: that will enable me immediately to assail the other. I frankly confess that I

should like best to be at peace with England. Nothing would then be more easy than to crush Austria. She has no money except what she gets through England."

It was in accordance with the spirit of these expressions that Napoleon wrote the following letter to George the Third:—

"Bonaparte, First Consul of the Republic, to his Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland.

"Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the Republic, I have thought proper, in commencing the discharge of the duties of this office, to communicate the event directly to your Majesty.

"Must the war which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world be eternal? Is there no room for accommodation?

"How can the two most enlightened nations in Europe, stronger and more powerful than is necessary for their safety and independence, sacrifice commercial advantages, internal prosperity, and domestic happiness, to vain ideas of grandeur? Whence is it that they do not feel peace to be the first of wants as well as the first of glories?

"These sentiments cannot be new to the heart of your Majesty, who rule over a free nation with no other view than to render it happy.

"Your Majesty will see in this overture only my sincere desire to contribute effectually, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a prompt step taken in confidence, and freed from those forms which, however necessary to disguise the apprehensions of feeble states, only serve to discover in those that are powerful a mutual wish to deceive.

"France and England may, by the abuse of their strength, long defer the period of its utter exhaustion, unhappily for all nations. But, I will venture to say, that the fate of all civilised nations is concerned in the termination of a war, the flames of which are raging throughout the whole world.

"I have the honour to be, &c., "BONAPARTE."

There are good grounds for believing that in this negotiation Napoleon was perfectly sincere, although some of his biographers insinuate that he really longed for war, and only offered peace to make a show of moderation. But it should be remembered that the government of which he was the head, required time to consolidate itself; that France was at war with all Europe, had lost Italy, and that the whole organisation of the country, in matters both civil and military, needed regulation and reform. Shortly afterwards the Consular cabinet offered peace to Austria.

It was while these negotiations were pending that the letter of Kleber, full of complaints against Napoleon, reached Paris. It was dated from Cairo, and addressed to the Directorial Government. When it arrived Napoleon was "the government," and received it in due course of business.



He immediately returned a letter of commendation and encouragement to the soldiers of the East, adding with humorous gravity and effrontery, by way of reply to the accusations, "Place in Kleber the boundless confidence which you reposed in me: he deserves it."

Chiefly to keep up in the public mind the notion that Egypt was a prosperous French colony, the First Consul busied himself about a company of actors, whom he announced an intention of sending there: his "intention" was, however, never carried into effect. His policy with regard to Egypt was, of course, dependent on the reception by England of his offers of peace.

The vigorous measures of the Consulate began with an act ominous of the future principles of Napoleon's government. A decree published on the 27th Nivose, restricted the liberty of the press in the following terms:—"The consuls of the Republic, considering that some of the journals printed at Paris are instruments in the hands of the enemies of the Republic, over the safety of which the Government is specially intrusted by the people of France to watch, decree that the minister of police shall, during the continuance of the war, allow only the following journals to be printed and published." Twelve journals are then named, together with "La Décade Philosophique, and those papers which are exclusively devoted to science, art, literature, commerce and advertisements." The decree went on to state that, if any of the licensed journals should insert articles "against the sovereignty of the people" they should be suppressed; but great indulgence was extended to them on that point, as will be easily credited.

At this early period of his administration, Napoleon also organised a secret police. Duroc and De Moncey were at first the directors of this system of *espionage*, which was intended to counter-mine that of Fouché. The deep craft of the latter, however, was not to be superseded or eluded, and he soon found out the whole institution, knew the names of all the subaltern agents, and all the ramifications of their proceedings. This secret police embittered Napoleon's life, and often exasperated him unjustly with his wife, his relations, and friends. The discovery of some false reports communicated to him by its agents, made him subsequently attach far less importance to its utility.

The reply of the British Cabinet to the overtures of peace made by Napoleon, arrived early in January. It was couched in the usual diplomatic form, being addressed by Lord Grenville, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the Minister of Foreign Relations at Paris, and contained a refusal on the part of his Britannic Majesty to treat with the consular government of France. The language of this official dispatch was evasive. The refusal was to be expected, being perfectly in accordance with the principles which guided the rulers of England at that



period. They had joined the other governments of Europe in commencing the war against France, in order to restore its legitimate sovereign, contrary to the will of the French people, and equally contrary to the very principles which had placed the princes of the House of Brunswick on the throne of England, to the exclusion of the Stuarts; and they intended to continue it for the accomplishment of the same purpose. Evidences of this intention break forth very clearly in some passages of Lord Grenville's letter, notwithstanding that it begins in a different tone:—"The King," writes his lordship, "has given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe. He neither is, nor has been, engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory. He has had no other view than that of maintaining, against all aggression, the rights and happiness of his subjects." The following passage speaks plainer:—"No real advantage can arise from such negociations to the great and desirable object of general peace, until it shall appear that those causes have ceased to operate which originally produced the war." The following is, however, still more distinct:—"The best and most natural pledge of the reality and permanence of better principles in France, would be the restoration of that line of princes which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad." This sentence, which unavoidably recals to mind the revolution of 1688 in England, and the strenuous efforts made by Louis XIV. in support of the exiled family of Stuart, calls forth the following remark from Hazlitt:—"And which line of princes, be it remembered, carried on war for a great part of the last century to dethrone his Britannic Majesty's family, on the very same principle that he wishes to restore theirs." A letter, pretending to come from the last descendant of the Stuart family, shortly afterwards appeared in the "Moniteur," congratulating the King of Great Britain on his accession to the doctrine of legitimacy, and summoning him to make good his principles by abdicating his crown in favour of the lineal heir. Finally, however, Lord Grenville, with diplomatic circumambience, declared that there existed "no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government of France would be directed; no reasonable ground by which to judge of its stability;" therefore, although his Majesty disclaimed any wish to meddle with the internal polity of France, it could "for the *present only* remain for his Majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other powers, those exertions of just and *defensive* war, which his regard to the happiness of his subjects will never permit him either to continue beyond the *necessity* in which they originate, or to terminate on any other grounds than such as may best contribute to the secure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their constitution, and their independence." England was thus forced onward in a course as inconsistent as it was ruinous. The voice of the few friends

of liberty who tried to stem the tide was drowned by large majorities in both Houses of Parliament, and the misleading war-whoop was echoed with unfortunate enthusiasm by large masses of the people.\* The gratification of national prejudices was present; the bitter consequences were far off, and therefore unheeded. They have learned a different lesson

\* To take a glance at the opinions maintained by English statesmen at the above period, will be a curious and no less interesting retrospect. The majority for war in the House of Lords was 79; minority, 6: the majority in the House of Commons was 260; minority, 64. Noble speeches in favour of peace were made by the Duke of Bedford, in the Lords; and by Fox, Whitbread, and Erskine, in the Commons. We can only find space for an eloquent extract from the forcible speech of Fox. "Is this the way," said he, "that you are to shew yourselves the advocates of order? You take up a system calculated to uncivilise the world, to destroy order, to trample on religion, to stifle in the heart, not merely the generosity of noble sentiment, but the affections of social nature; and in the prosecution of this system you spread terror and devastation all around you; and all this without any intelligible motive—all this, because you may gain a better peace a year or two hence! So that we are called upon to go on, merely as a speculation—we must keep Bonaparte longer at war, as a state of probation? Gracious God! sir, is war a state of probation? Is it dangerous for nations to live in amity with each other? Cannot this state of probation be as well undergone without adding to the catalogue of human sufferings? 'But we must pause!' What! must the bowels of Great Britain be torn out—her heart's blood spilt—her treasures wasted—that you may make an experiment? Put yourselves—oh! that you would put yourselves—in the field of battle, and learn to judge of the host of horrors that you excite." • • • • • "Sir, I have told you my opinion. I think you ought to have given a civil, clear, and explicit answer to the overture, which was fairly and handsomely made you. If you were desirous that the negotiation should have included all your allies, you should have told Bonaparte so; but I believe you were afraid of his agreeing to the proposal. You took that method before. 'Aye,' but you say, 'the people were anxious for peace in 1797.' I say they are friends to peace now; and I am confident that you will one day own it. Believe me, they are friends to peace; although by the laws which you have made, restraining the expression of the sense of the people, public opinion cannot now be heard as loudly and unequivocally as heretofore. But I will not go into the internal state of this country: it is too afflicting to the heart to see the strides which have been made, by means of and under the miserable pretext of this war, against liberty of every kind, both of speech and of writings; and to observe in another kingdom the rapid approaches to that military despotism, which we affect to make an argument against peace. I know, sir, that public opinion, if it could be collected, would be for peace; and I know that it is only by public opinion—not by a sense of their duty—not by the inclination of their minds—that ministers will be brought, if ever, to give us peace. I ask for no gentleman's support to-night who would have voted against ministers if they had come down and proposed to enter into a negotiation with the French: but I have a right to ask—I know that in honour, in consistency, in conscience, I have a right to expect the vote of every gentleman who would have voted with ministers in an address to his Majesty, diametrically opposite to the motion of this night." Mr. Whitbread maintained the position that, "had it not been for the interference, the folly, and the ambition of the other powers of Europe, the French revolution would at this time have borne a very different complexion; none of that pernicious rage for glory and conquest, so much deprecated in the French nation, would have existed."



now, taught by the severe experience of heavy taxation and prodigal waste of wealth and human life.

Napoleon instantly prepared for war. It is said that on receiving the reply from England, he exclaimed to Talleyrand, "It could not have been more favourable." This is very possible, inconsistent as it appears with his convictions that peace was the best for France. He played the desperate game of war too well not to be fond of it, and all Europe conspired to give him opportunities for the frightful pastime. He had been meditating the plan of the fresh campaign in the interval, and was quite ready to strike the decisive blow in Italy, when the moment for it should arrive. On the 7th of January, 1800, only three days after the date of Lord Grenville's dispatch, a consular decree ordered the formation of an army of reserve, to be composed of all the veteran soldiers then unemployed, and a levy of thirty thousand recruits, or conscripts, as they were termed; and the most active preparations were rapidly made.

Before the First Consul put his army in motion, he received an overture from the House of Bourbon, which it is natural to suppose was not unconnected with the implied intentions of England as to the war. The following letter from Louis XVIII., then in exile, was put into his hands in the month of February:—

"SIR—Whatever may be their apparent conduct, men like you never inspire alarm. You have accepted an eminent station, and I thank you for having done so. You know better than any one how much strength and power are requisite to secure the happiness of a great nation. Save France from her own violence, and you will fulfil the first wish of my heart. Restore her king to her, and future generations will bless your memory. You will always be too necessary to the state for me ever to be able to discharge by important appointments, the debt of my family, and myself.

"LOUIS."

This letter, in the hand-writing of the Bourbon prince, was dated the 20th of February, 1800. It produced some agitation in the mind of Napoleon, though it appears certain he never for a moment entertained the idea of acting the part of General Monck, and restoring the legitimate sovereign. He hesitated, however, whether to reply, and the pressure of business prolonged his delays. Meanwhile Josephine and her daughter Hortense urged him to "hold out hope to the king, without pledging himself." They were so pressing in their entreaties that he one day exclaimed to his secretary:—"These devils of women are mad! The Faubourg St. Germain has turned their heads! But I care not; I will have nothing to do with them. The partisans of the Bourbons are deceived if they suppose I am the man to play Monck's part." It seems plain that Josephine was really anxious that her husband should treat



with Louis XVIII., which, she hoped, might banish from his mind the thought of making himself king, a prospect that always alarmed her imagination. Napoleon never returned any answer to the king's letter; but, after several months he received another, to which he finally replied. He had abolished the oath of "hatred to royalty," together with the celebration of the 21st of January, the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI. It is not improbable that this circumstance had raised the hopes of the Bourbons.

The following acute observations are made by Mr. Lockhart:—"The Bourbons are right in considering these as monarchical symptoms; but shrewd observers perceived clearly in whose favour such changes were designed to operate. It appears that some of Napoleon's colleagues made a last effort to circumscribe his power, by urging on him the necessity of his immediately placing himself at the head of the armies in the field; expecting, no doubt, great advantages, could they remove him from the seat of government, at the time when the new machinery was getting into a regular course of motion. He sternly resisted all such suggestions. 'I am chief consul,' said he, 'I will remain in Paris.' And it was, indeed, most necessary for his success, that he should remain there at this critical epoch; for, in the arrangement of every branch of the new government, he had systematically sought for his own security in balancing against each other the lovers of opposite sets of principles—men, who, by cordially coalescing together, might still have undone him; or by carrying their animosities to extremity, overturned the whole fabric of his manufacture. It was thus that he had chosen one consul from the republican party, and another from the royalist; either of whom might, in his absence, have been tempted to undermine his sway; whereas both Cambacérès and Lebrun, overawed by his presence, proved eminently serviceable in drawing over to the interests of the chief consul innumerable persons, of their own ways of thinking originally, but no longer such zealous theorists as to resist the arguments of self-interest—those strong springs of hope and fear, of both of which Napoleon, while at the Tuileries, held the master-key. It was thus also, that, in forming his ministry, he grouped together men, each of whom detested or despised the others; but each unquestionably fitted, in the highest degree, for the particular office assigned to him; and each, therefore, likely to labour in his own department, communicating little with his colleagues, and looking continually to the one hand that had invested him with his share of power."

The marriage of Murat to the beautiful Caroline Bonaparte, was celebrated at the Luxembourg about this period. It appears that Napoleon was at first very much averse to this alliance, thinking that his sister might command a higher position, and made a vulgar-minded allu-



seeming to do so." As to the answers of both, there is little difference in the degree of falsehood, but Josephine's conduct in the whole transaction is painfully vexatious in so amiable a woman; while the unscrupulous manner in which she could send to another man, without her husband's knowledge, for such a sum of money as £10,000 (granting the truth of the statement) can only be regarded with disgust, even by those who most appreciate her many estimable qualities. She had, moreover, contracted large debts while Napoleon was in Egypt. During that period, she had bought the estate of Malmaison; had beautified it exceedingly, and lived in great elegance and splendour. Her creditors were now beginning to murmur; but, dreading Napoleon's violence of temper, which she knew would be excited to the last degree by the disgraceful circumstance, she did not dare to tell him of her embarrassment; especially as he had returned from Egypt poorer than he went. Talleyrand at length broke the subject to him, and Bourrienne was commissioned to ascertain from Josephine the extent of her debts. This, he found very difficult; but she at last confessed that she believed she owed £50,000, adding, however, that she would not suffer more than half the sum to be mentioned to Napoleon. It was in vain that Bourrienne urged her to tell the truth to the First Consul, reminding her that, as he had not the least idea her debts amounted to any thing like even half the sum, she would have to undergo the same reproaches for it as for the whole; and only once, instead of the same scene occurring a second time when he was informed of the remainder. She ended the discussion, however, by rejecting the secretary's advice, but protesting that she would contract no more debts, and pay the rest out of her savings, concluding with "I can never tell him Bourrienne; I know him; I cannot support his violence." The end of this matter is curious enough. Napoleon supplied the £25,000, and with this sum Bourrienne contrived to liquidate the whole debt; most of the tradespeople readily taking off half, or more than half, of their claims, so exorbitant had been their overcharges. One instance of this is too *piquante* to be omitted. The milliner's bill contained a charge for thirty-eight new hats of great price, in one month. Josephine unable, nevertheless, to profit by experience, soon fell again into the very same extravagance, and embarrassments of a similar description; and this continued to embitter the happiness which would otherwise have existed between her and Napoleon. The annual salary of Napoleon as First Consul was about £20,000: we cannot, therefore, be much surprised by his irritation at the profusion of his consort.

The Luxembourg did not long satisfy the ambition of Napoleon. He soon began to make preparations for taking up his residence in the Tuileries, the ancient palace of the kings of France, to which, however,



he affixed the title of the "Palace of the Government." He also caused a certain portion of it to be allotted to Lebrun, the third consul. On the 19th of February, 1800, Napoleon took possession of this royal residence. Great crowds had collected to greet him on his way. He went in procession, but with no great splendour. The fine regiment of the Guides led the way. The ministers alone, with the exception of the consuls, appeared in private carriages; for in those republican days no others were seen in Paris. The remaining vehicles in the procession were all hackney coaches, the numbers being covered over with paper. Napoleon, accompanied by his two colleagues, was in a carriage drawn by the six white horses presented to him by the Emperor of Austria. Enthusiastic acclamations and cries of "Long live the First Consul!" were uttered as he entered the gates of the palace. Directly he arrived, he sprang upon his horse, and held a grand review of the troops.



When the 96th, 43rd, and 50th demi-brigades defiled before him, he was observed to take off his hat and incline his head, in token of respect at the sight of their colours torn to shreds with balls, and blackened with smoke.

He afterwards, in company with the other consuls, received the members of the diplomatic body. On this occasion, something like the ceremonies of a court were for the first time introduced; and, in imitation of the ancient custom of waiting on the queen after presentation to the king, the official persons were afterwards presented to Josephine. Amongst the

foreign ambassadors, the plenipotentiaries of the United States of America formed a distinguished feature. The consular government had just placed the relations between America and France on a new footing of mutual amity, and commercial interchange.

On the eve of the First Consul taking possession of the Tuileries, he had assisted at a ceremony of a very different character. News of the death of George Washington had just reached France. He died on the 14th of December, a private citizen of the great republic, the liberties of which he had secured by his abilities as a general, and had assisted in maintaining by his talents as a legislator and a magistrate. Napoleon paid a public homage to the virtue, which neither his character, his wishes, nor his circumstances, enabled him to emulate. He celebrated a grand funeral service to the memory of Washington, in the council-hall of the Invalids. The last standards taken in Egypt were presented on the same occasion. All the ministers, the councillors of state, and generals, were present. The pillars and roof were hung with the trophies of the campaign of Italy. The bust of Washington was placed under the trophy composed of the flags of Aboukir. A general order was issued that crape should be suspended for ten days from all the flags and standards of the republic; and thus, in the imaginary funeral of a pure patriot, did ambition bury its conscience, and the memory of that higher glory which outlasts the blaze of the diadem, and the trophies of victorious fields.







## CHAPTER XVIII.

NEW COALITION—RUSSIA DESERTS THE COALITION—THE EMPEROR PAUL—NAPOLEON PREPARES FOR WAR—ANECDOTES—MASSENA IN GENOA—NAPOLEON IN ITALY—PASSAGE OF THE ALPS—HE ENTERS MILAN—PASSES THE ADDA—TAKES BERGAMO AND CREMONA—GENOA CAPITULATES TO AUSTRIA—BATTLE OF MONTEBELLO—DESAIX JOINS THE ARMY—AFFAIRS OF EGYPT—BATTLE OF MARENGO—DEATH OF DESAIX—ARMISTICE—RESTORATION OF THE CISALPINE REPUBLIC—VICTORIES OF MOREAU—MASSENA COMMANDS IN ITALY—NAPOLEON RETURNS TO PARIS.



A NEW coalition against France was established in the beginning of the year 1800. The three great powers of England, Austria and Russia,—together with Bavaria, Sweden, Denmark, and Turkey, made a formidable array of enemies with whom Napoleon had to contend. England had blockaded Malta, and had assembled a numerous army at Minorca, under

General Abercromby, ready to act with the Austrians in Italy. Melas, a veteran officer of high reputation, commanded the Austrian army of one hundred and forty thousand men. With this force, supported by the English fleet under Lord Keith, it was proposed to reduce Genoa, which was still unsubdued, and to penetrate across the Var into the territory of France, by Provence, where a large body of royalists were ready to take up arms and act in concert with the English and Austrians. General Willot, an emigrant officer, and Pichegru, who had escaped from Guiana, were expected to head this insurrection. The armies only waited for the approach of spring



to commence operations. The French army in Italy occupied the country between Genoa and the Var. It was in so disorganised a condition that its numbers cannot be estimated; accounts vary from five-and-twenty thousand to forty thousand men. It was suffering great privations, being quartered in a poor country, the coast of which was strictly blockaded by the English fleet. General Kray and the Archduke Ferdinand commanded the Austrian army on the Rhine. This army was not so strong in point of numbers as the force in Italy, for it was in the latter country that Austria meditated the decisive blow against France.

Napoleon materially broke the strength of his enemies before the commencement of hostilities. Discovering that a coolness existed between Austria and Russia (in consequence of some events in the last campaign), and that a misunderstanding had at the same time sprung up between England and Russia, he adroitly seized the opportunity to detach the great northern power from the coalition. Russia was governed by the Emperor Paul the First, a man of an eccentric and somewhat chivalrous turn of mind. He had taken offence at the refusal of England to include seven thousand Russians in a cartel for the exchange of prisoners with France. These men, who had been taken in Holland, where they were acting in concert with the English army, were all suddenly set at liberty by Napoleon, and sent back to their own country; the officers having their swords returned, and the men receiving new uniforms. Paul was delighted with this piece of politically exuberant generosity. Shortly afterwards Napoleon made him a present of the sword which Pope Leo the Tenth had given to L' Ile-Adam for having defended Rhodes against the infidels. Letters now passed between the Emperor and the First Consul. Paul's first letter is very characteristic:—"Citizen First Consul, I do not write to you to discuss the rights of men or citizens; every country governs itself as it pleases. Wherever I see at the head of a nation a man who knows how to rule and how to fight, my heart is attracted towards him. I write to acquaint you with my dissatisfaction with England, who violates every article of the law of nations, and has no guide but her egotism and her interest. I wish to unite with you, to put an end to the unjust proceedings of that government." These were not empty words of the Emperor Paul. His enthusiastic admiration of the First Consul increased, and their mutual correspondence was carried on almost daily. They consulted together on the most important affairs, and concerted their measures in confidence. Paul dismissed Lord Whitworth, the English ambassador in Russia, seized the English ships in all his ports, and prevailed on Prussia to menace Hanover with an army. His hatred soon grew to so extravagant and ridiculous a pitch that he defied to single combat every King who would not declare war against England. This challenge was actually inserted, by authority, in the "St. Petersburg

Court Gazette." He at first intended to have had it printed on vellum, and to have sent it to every king in Europe. The challenge, however, was sufficiently original in those days to find its own way with speed to the royal parties in question, who all said, of course, that the eccentric Emperor was offensively mad.

A successful negotiation was at the same time opened between France and Russia; in consequence of which, the latter power influenced the courts of Sweden and Denmark, and brought them under engagements to observe a strict neutrality. The state of the French army in Italy was considerably amended by a single proclamation of the First Consul, calling on the soldiers to remember the confidence he had once placed in them. "The scattered troops," as Scott finely says, "returned to their duty, as war-horses, when dispersed, are said to rally and form ranks, at the mere sound of the trumpet." Massena was despatched to take the command in Italy.

Some important measures were originated in the interval between the declaration of war and the opening of the campaigns. The first report of the council of state on the civil code, was presented to the legislature at this early period of the consulate. The Bank of France was also founded, and the regulations for its management framed and adopted. With a view to the final pacification of La Vendée, the chiefs of the royalist party had been summoned to Paris during the present cessation of the civil war. Georges Cadoudal, the famous Chouan leader, was admitted to a private interview with the First Consul; but the conference ended unsuccessfully. Nothing could shake the attachment of Cadoudal to the cause which he adopted; he was, however, honourably dismissed with a safe conduct to his own country. All the other chiefs tendered their submission, and there remained only a plundering species of warfare in La Vendée, which was speedily put down altogether. These provinces, which had required the presence of an army of eighty thousand veteran soldiers, now came peaceably under the laws and fiscal regulations of the rest of France.

Napoleon, who was deeply immersed in business throughout the week, habitually left the Tuileries for Malmaison, every Saturday evening, and enjoyed complete relaxation during his Sundays. "I cannot better describe the joy he then appeared to experience," says his secretary, "than by comparing it to the delight of a schoolboy on getting a holiday." A select set of the friends he valued most, formed his society on these days, the charm of which has never left the memory of those who were admitted to enjoy them. A graceful ease, combining entire freedom from ceremony, with the utmost refinement, characterised these meetings; heightened by the extreme beauty of the place, and the elegance of all the arrangements under the exquisite taste of Josephine. Napoleon had

quite ceased to be remarkable for taciturnity and reserve. He began now to be distinguished, as he always continued to be, for the very opposite qualities. He shone in conversation, and had become frank and communicative. However he might "play a part" in public, in private he was simple and unaffected; and his discourse, which was generally serious and earnest, possessed the charm of originality and sincerity. He is said to have sometimes joined in the country dances at the little balls given on these Sundays at Malmaison; but though he always called for the easiest figures possible, he still continually put every body out. He took great pleasure in walking about the grounds, and superintending the improvements which were going on. Some fragments of his conversations in these walks, and some little anecdotes characteristic of his feelings at that period, are given by Bourrienne. The peculiar delight he experienced at the sound of the ringing of bells, first struck his secretary on these occasions. When the bells of the little church at Ruel could be heard, Napoleon would cease his most serious conversation, and listen with attention, stopping his walk lest the noise of his footsteps should drown the sound. "They remind me," said he, with emotion, "of the first years I spent at Brienne; I was then happy!" Another great pleasure which he experienced, was the sight of a tall, slender woman dressed in white, walking beneath an alley of shady trees. He could not endure coloured dresses, especially dark ones, and frequently criticised the tastes of the ladies of the party, often giving Josephine directions about her toilet. He liked exceedingly to have Monge, Berthollet, Lacépède, La Place, or Chaptal, for his companions; conversations on science being the most complete contrast to the eternal round of politics in which he was engaged at Paris. He had no ear for the rhythm of poetry, but he could appreciate great poetic ideas. He almost worshipped Corneille; and used to declare that if that poet had been then alive, he would have made him his prime minister: adding, "It is not his poetry that I most admire; it is his powerful understanding; his vast knowledge of the human heart, and his profound policy." When at Paris, he took pleasure in walking out late in the evenings, going into the shops of the Rue St. Honoré, buying trifling things, and engaging the people in talk upon the affairs of the day while they served him, in complete ignorance of the rank of their customer. "Well, madame," he would say, pulling up the corners of his collar, and affecting dandy airs, "is there anything new to-day? What do people say of that buffoon, Bonaparte?" He was obliged once to get out of a shop as fast as possible, to avoid the violent attack brought upon himself by the irreverent tone in which he spoke of the First Consul. These relaxations were not, however, frequent; he was generally engaged in business both early and late. His secretary was charged with the task of awaking him every morning at seven.



Sometimes, if very sleepy, he would turn round, and say, "Ah, Bourrienne, let me sleep a little longer." But he generally rose at that hour, sleeping about seven hours out of the twenty-four, besides a short nap in the afternoon. Another charge given to his secretary was, to awake him in the night whenever it was necessary. "If you have good news to communicate," he said, "with that there is no hurry; but when you bring bad news, rouse me instantly, for then there is not a moment to be lost."

From these domesticities, we must now turn again to the ungenial theme of war. Preparations for the new campaign in spring were completed. Moreau was made commander-in-chief of the army of the Rhine, one hundred and fifty thousand strong. This appointment, as Mr. Lockhart remarks, "exhibited a noble superiority to all feelings of personal jealousy. That general's reputation approached most nearly his own; but his talents justified this reputation, and the First Consul thought of nothing but the best means of accomplishing the joint campaign."

The plan of the ensuing campaign was concerted between the First Consul and Carnot, who had now superseded Berthier, as minister at war. The operations were conducted with the utmost secrecy. Napoleon had determined to strike the decisive blow against Austria in Italy, and to command there in person. An article in the constitution forbade the First Consul to take the command of an army. To this interdiction, which it was supposed would enrage him, he cheerfully assented; but he found a ready way to evade it, as soon as the occasion was ripe. He gave the nominal command of the army of Italy to Berthier, as a preliminary measure, well knowing that he had only to appear in the camp himself at his own time, and it mattered little who was called general-in-chief. He at the same time began to collect troops at Dijon, which he publicly gave out were intended to advance upon Italy. They consisted chiefly of conscripts and invalids, with a numerous staff, and were called "the army of reserve." Meantime, while a sufficient amount of derision was excited in Austria by this army, and caricatures of some ancient men with wooden legs, and little boys of twelve years old, entitled "Bonaparte's Army of Reserve," were amusing the public, the real army of Italy was already formed in the heart of France, and was marching by various roads towards Switzerland. The troops now withdrawn from La Vendée, in consequence of its pacification, the regiments lately quartered in Paris, and the consular guard, formed the nucleus of this army. The rest were conscripts, but they were commanded by officers of the first ability and courage. Most of the names already known in Napoleon's campaigns will be found again in this expedition. The artillery was sent piecemeal from different arsenals; the provisions, necessary to an army about to cross barren mountains, were forwarded to Geneva, embarked on the

lake, and landed at Villeneuve, near the entrance of the valley of the Simplon. The situation of the French army in Italy had now become critical. Massena had thrown himself into Genoa with twelve thousand men, and was enduring all the rigours of a siege, pressed by forty thousand Austrians, under General Ott, seconded by the British fleet. Suchet, with the remainder of the French army, about eight thousand strong, completely cut off from communication with Massena, was maintaining an unequal contest with Melas, the Austrian commander-in-chief. Suchet, with his small army, was strenuously defending the French frontier, which Melas violated on the 11th of May by the invasion of Nice, but was compelled to retrace his steps to attack Suchet, who had concentrated his forces on the Var. The daring plan of Napoleon was to transport his army across the Alps; surmounting the highest chain of mountains in Europe, by paths which are dangerous and difficult to the unencumbered traveller; to plant himself in the rear of the Austrians, interrupt their communications, place them between his own army and that of Massena, cut off their retreat, and then give them battle under circumstances which must necessarily render one defeat decisive.

While all Europe supposed that the multifarious concerns of the government held him at Paris, the First Consul was travelling at a rapid rate towards Geneva, accompanied only by his secretary. He left Paris on the 6th of May, at two in the morning; leaving Cambacérès to preside until his return, and ordering Fouché to announce that he was about to review the army at Dijon, and might possibly go as far as Geneva, but would return in a fortnight. "Should anything happen," he significantly added, "I shall be back like a thunderbolt." It was during this journey, when his fate hung on a chance most precarious, that he was first heard to talk of France as his own. "With what pleasure, shall I return to my dear France! *Ma belle France!*" He also entered into various long and interesting discussions, one of which was concerning the campaigns of Cæsar and Alexander.

On the 8th, the First Consul arrived at Geneva, where he had an interview with the celebrated Necker. Madame de Staël says that, on this occasion, the First Consul made a very favourable impression on her father, by the confidence with which he spoke of his future projects. If so, the impression was not mutual; for Napoleon afterwards declared, that this interview confirmed him in the opinion that the talents of Necker by no means accorded with the celebrity he had acquired.

On the 13th, the First Consul reviewed the vanguard of his army, commanded by General Lannes, at Lausanne. The whole army consisted of nearly sixty thousand men. Two columns, each of about five thousand men, were put in motion; one under Tureau, the other under Chabran; to take the routes of Mount Cenis and the little St. Bernard.



A division, consisting of fifteen thousand men, under Moncey, detached from the army of the Rhine, was to march by St. Gothard. Moreau now kept the Austrian army of the Rhine, under General Kray, on the defensive before Ulm, according to the scheme of the campaign, which had been laid down by Napoleon and Carnot, and held himself in readiness to protect the operations of the First Consul in Italy. The main body of the French army, in numbers about thirty thousand, nominally commanded by Berthier, but in fact by the First Consul himself, marched, on the 15th, from Lausanne to the village of St. Pierre, at the foot of the Great St. Bernard, at which point all traces of a practicable road entirely ceased. General Marescot, the engineer, had been sent forward from Geneva to reconnoitre, and had reported the paths to be "barely passable." "Set forward immediately!" wrote Napoleon. Field forges were established at St. Pierre to dismount the guns. The carriages and wheels were slung on poles, and the ammunition-boxes were to be carried by mules. To convey the pieces themselves, a number of trees were felled, hollowed out, or grooved, and the guns being jammed within these rough cases, a hundred soldiers were attached to each, whose duty





it was to drag them up the steeps. All was now in readiness to commence the march, of which Scott gives the following beautiful and graphic description. "An immense, and apparently inaccessible, mountain, reared its head among general desolation and eternal frost; while precipices, glaciers, ravines, and a boundless extent of pathless snows, which the slightest concussion of the air converts into avalanches capable of burying armies in their descent, appeared to forbid access to all living things but the chamois and his scarce less wild pursuer. Yet foot by foot, and man by man, did the French soldiers proceed to ascend this formidable barrier, which nature had erected in vain to limit human ambition. The view of the valley, emphatically called 'of Desolation,' where nothing is to be seen but snow and sky, had no terrors for the First Consul and his army. They advanced up paths hitherto only practised by hunters, or, here and there, a hardy pedestrian; the infantry loaded with their arms, and in full military equipment, the cavalry leading their horses. The musical bands played, from time to time, at the head of the regiments, and in places of unusual difficulty, the drums beat a charge, as if to encourage the soldiers to encounter the opposition of Nature herself. The troops making it a point of honour to bring forward their guns, accomplished this severe duty, not only with cheerfulness, but with enthusiasm. While one-half of the soldiers were thus engaged, the others were obliged to carry the muskets, cartridge-boxes, knapsacks, and provisions of their comrades, as well as their own. Each man, thus loaded, was computed to carry from sixty to seventy pounds weight, up icy precipices where a man totally without encumbrance could ascend but slowly. Probably no troops, save the French, could have endured the fatigue of such a march; and no other general than Bonaparte would have ventured to require it at their hands." The most arduous task of course fell upon those who brought up the rear. "The men in front," says Mr. Lockhart, "durst not halt to breathe, because the least stoppage there might have thrown the column behind into confusion, on the brink of deadly precipices; and those in the rear had to flounder, knee deep, through snow and ice trampled into sludge by the previous divisions." The whole army had passed the summit by the 20th of May. Napoleon remained behind until the whole had set forward; he then began the ascent, accompanied only by Bourrienne and his guide. He maintained during the whole time, that air of calm self-possession for which he was remarkable under all circumstances of difficulty which required strenuous exertion. He either walked, or rode a mule, wearing his grey great coat and three-cornered hat, and carrying his riding-whip in his hand. He was occasionally stopped by some temporary halt of the artillery or baggage. He gave his commands peremptorily on these occasions, and was instantly obeyed: his look seeming sufficient to remove every objection.



PASSAGE OF THE GREAT ST. BERNARD.





On the highest point of the Great St. Bernard, amidst the "everlasting snows," stands a convent, or hospital, of monks, whose heroic and benevolent vocation is that of affording succour to travellers in those pathless wastes. Napoleon had taken the precaution to send forward large supplies to them, and to warn them of the approach of his army. The soldiers on their arrival found tables ready spread in front of the convent, and each man received, as he passed, a glass of wine and some bread and cheese, the good fathers serving the provisions with the greatest assiduity. Scott compliments the worthy monks upon the promptitude of their supply to so large a number, being evidently not aware of how the supply came there. The troops had tasted no refreshment, except biscuit dipped in the snow, since they began the march, and found this aid most acceptable. Napoleon rested and took a frugal repast at the convent, after which he visited the chapel, and the three little libraries, lingering a short time to read a few pages of some old book. He performed the descent on a sledge, down a glacier (and it may be conjectured how



critical a task it was to get down all the horses, mules, guns, &c.) of nearly a hundred yards, almost perpendicular. His guide was a robust young man, of two-and-twenty, with whom he conversed freely, and who confided to him, in answer to his questions, all his troubles, anxieties, and wishes. On parting, Napoleon gave him a note to carry to the superiors of the convent, and the next day, the man was surprised to find himself the possessor of a house, a piece of ground, and every thing for which he had wished. He was liberal to his first guide also, but the only specimen of his conversation remembered by this attendant was, when shaking the rain-water from his hat he exclaimed, "There! see what I have done in your mountains—spoiled my new hat! Well, I will find another on the other side.\*"

The whole army effected the passage of the Great St. Bernard in the space of three days. A small party of Austrians were encountered and beaten back, at Chatillon, by Lannes, who continued to lead the advance. So utterly unexpected was this sudden apparition of the First Consul and his army, that no precautions whatever had been taken, and no enemy appeared capable of disputing his march towards the valley of Aosta. A serious difficulty, however, awaited him at this point. The entrance to the valley is extremely narrow, two lofty mountains rising on either side at the distance of fifty yards from each other; while in the midst of this narrow opening stands a conical rock, crowned by a fortress, at that time garrisoned by Austrian troops. The small, walled town of Bard, lying at the foot of the rock, occupied the whole of the pass. While waiting for the reduction of this fort, the First Consul remained three days in the convent of Martigni, to whose gloomy walls, situated in a deep valley, the sun scarcely ever penetrates. The local strength of the place enabled the town to hold out against the assaults, and a sort of panic spreading among the soldiers at finding their course impeded in such a desolate place, Lannes stopped the progress of the artillery. The First Consul was quickly on the spot—surveyed the localities—scaled the height of the Albaredo, which overlooked the fort—and determined that the army should speedily follow. He caused a gun to be hoisted up and planted upon the summit, and the moment his troops began the ascent under the enemy's fire, he played it upon the fort with such fatal precision, that he effectually silenced the main battery. The troops then moved in single file along the edge of the heights, passing the First Consul in their way, who was so fatigued with his efforts that he had fallen fast asleep upon the top of the rock. The town was carried, but the strength of the position had rendered abortive every effort to take the fort, and the progress of the army was

\* See Mr. Tennent's Tour through the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, &c.



still effectually stopped. At length, the patience of Napoleon was utterly exhausted, and being resolved not to endure any further delay in the advance of the troops, he left a party of conscripts, under General Chabran, to maintain the siege of this small place, the strength of which had been so completely under-rated in the accounts he had received. He had made the whole of the cavalry and infantry pass by the steep goat-tracks of the Albaredo, in the manner we have just described; but for the artillery, it was impracticable. The commandant of Bard sent off couriers to Melas, announcing the unlooked-for transit of a large army by the goat-tracks, but asserting that no artillery could possibly pass. He was mistaken. The following night, all the wheels of the gun-carriages and wagons were twisted round with straw; the road-way covered with litter; the pieces, hid under branches of trees, dragged along by soldiers in the most profound silence; and by these means the whole artillery was safely conveyed through the town under the guns of the fort. An occasional discharge from the ramparts—marking some passing suspicion, or the notice of a strange sound—wounded many and killed some of the gunners, but the object was effected with complete success.

The French army now advanced unopposed down the valley to Ivrea, which was without a garrison; while Lannes entered Romano, merely falling in with a few Austrian outposts. The roads to Turin and Milan, the latter city being his object, were now open to Napoleon. He halted at Ivrea four days to recruit the strength of his troops. Meanwhile Tureau, advancing by Mount Cenis, had taken the forts of Susa and La Brunetta. Astonished and confounded by this sudden irruption of the French, and quite incredulous of the report which now began to spread abroad, that they were commanded by the First Consul in person, Melas was irresolute what course to adopt. His artillery, equipage, and provisions, were all at the mercy of this unexpected invader, whoever he might prove to be, and who must have brought sufficient forces to destroy the troops left to guard the frontier. Melas, however, knew these to be both weak and divided; and, persisting in his belief that the advancing army was only about twenty thousand strong, and that the object of its leader was the relief of Genoa, he made no attempt to concentrate his forces, but left Ott before Genoa. Conceiving, afterwards, from the advance of Tureau, by Susa and La Brunetta, that Turin would be the point of attack, he removed his head-quarters to that city. Napoleon immediately took the road to Milan. The Sesia was crossed without opposition; the passage of the Tesino was effected after a sharp conflict with a body of Austrian cavalry, who were put to flight; and, on the 2nd of June, the First Consul entered Milan, amidst the





enthusiastic acclamations of the people, who had all believed that he had died in Egypt. He was conducted in triumph to the Ducal Palace, where he took up his residence. His first act was to proclaim the re-establishment of the Cisalpine Republic.

On the day that Napoleon entered Milan, he received news of the capture of the Fort of Bard. Without a moment's delay, he blockaded the fort of Milan, occupied Placenza, and, crossing the Adda, took Bergamo and Cremona. He remained six days at Milan, impatiently expecting the arrival of Moncey with his division, and occupied in receiving deputations from the various public bodies, and re-organising the affairs of the republic. The Austrian line of operations was intercepted by the conquests already made, and no time was lost in arresting every communication by post or courier. The most important information was now gained by the First Consul. All the dispatches between the Court of Vienna and Melas falling into his hands, he learned the extent of the Austrian reinforcements now on their way to Italy; the position and state of all the Austrian depôts, field-equipages, and parks of artillery; and the amount and distribution of the whole Austrian force. He learned also that Massena still held out in Genoa, though reduced to the greatest extremities. Finally, he clearly perceived that Melas still continued in complete ignorance of the strength and destination of the French army. His dispatches spoke with contempt of what he called "the pretended army of reserve," and treated the assertion of Napoleon's presence in Italy as a "mere fabrication." Possessed of all this valuable information, Napoleon knew how to take his measures with clearness and precision, and Moncey having brought up his division, he made instant preparations to relieve the siege of Genoa. He was too late, however, to accomplish this object. After an heroic and protracted defence,

Massena was obliged to yield to the cry of the numerous population of Genoa, who were in the last extremity of suffering, and called for a surrender. The scarcity in the city had obliged the inhabitants to feed on dogs, and various kinds of absolute garbage; the soldiers of the garrison had little food, and the Austrian prisoners, amounting to eight thousand, still less. Mr. Lockhart says that even shoes and knapsacks were eaten; and this is quite a possible case, especially if the leather were first boiled to a glutinous substance. Massena had held out in the hope that the tidings of the First Consul's arrival would at length reach him; but waiting in vain, he had made a desperate attack on the besieging force, which failed. On the 5th of July, he signed a convention with the Austrians, receiving terms so honourable, that it seems surprising he did not suspect the truth. He and his whole garrison were permitted to march out of Genoa without laying down their arms. The fact was, that if he could have delayed the surrender a few hours, he would have been saved the vexation of any such event. A staff-officer from Melas had actually arrived with urgent orders to General Ott to raise the siege, and fall back towards Milan, to withstand the French Consul, who was approaching that city in unexpected strength. The eyes of Melas were at length opened, and he was preparing to meet the emergency with all the energy that the orders from Vienna (by which the Austrian generals were continually embarrassed), and his great age, of eighty years, permitted; but his delay had been sufficient to render his situation critical. His communications with the north bank of the Po were cut off, and the French occupied the finest portion of the north of Italy, by a line stretching from Fort Bard to Placenza, while he was confined to Piedmont. His army was, moreover, divided into two portions; one, under Ott, near Genoa, (which was observed on its right by Suchet, now likely to be reinforced by Massena and his garrison); the other, under his own command at Turin. The greatest risk existed that the First Consul would, according to his old plan, attack and destroy one division before the other could form a junction with it. To prevent such a disaster, Ott received orders to march forward on the Tesino, while Melas, moving towards Alessandria, prepared to resume his communications with that division of his army.

The First Consul, on his part, was prevented from marching on Genoa, by the dispatches of an intercepted courier from General Ott, announcing the surrender of Massena. "It was past three in the morning," says Bourrienne, "when the courier arrived. I was obliged to shake the First Consul by the arm, in order to awake him. He had desired me never to respect his repose on the arrival of bad news. I read the dispatch to him; and so confounded was he by the unexpected event, that his first exclamation was, 'Bah! you do not understand German.'" By





eight o'clock, orders were on the road to countermand the march of the troops on the Scrivia; and the same day, Napoleon advanced to Stradella, where head-quarters were fixed.

The pontoon-train belonging to the Austrians was seized at Pavia, and the French army passed the Po at that place. General Ott had now advanced, and strongly occupied the villages of Casteggio and Montebello. On the 9th of June, Lannes, who continued to lead the van-guard of the French army, was attacked by this Austrian division in superior numbers. The battle, though severely contested, ended in the complete defeat of the Austrians, who lost three thousand killed, and five thousand prisoners. General Ott retreated to Tortona, where he rallied the broken remains of his army. In this fierce engagement, there was but little opportunity for skill or manœuvre; the fields being covered with full-grown crops of rye, the hostile parties were seldom aware of each others presence till almost within a few paces. The battle of Montebello was therefore won by sheer hard fighting, hand to hand. It was attended with great slaughter on both sides. The shower of balls from the Austrian musquetry, was at one time so intense, that Lannes, speaking of it afterwards, described the effect with a horrible graphic homeliness: "Bones were cracking in my division like a shower of hail upon a skylight." Lannes was subsequently created Duke of Montebello.

The First Consul remained stationary for three days at Stradella, in hopes that Melas would be compelled to give him battle in this position: he was unwilling to descend into the great plain of Marengo, where the Austrian cavalry, which was greatly the superior in numbers, would have a fearful advantage. Meanwhile he despatched an order to Suchet, to march on the river Scrivia, and place himself in the rear of the enemy.

General Desaix joined the French army at Stradella. He had re-



turned from Egypt, and landed in France almost on the very day that the First Consul left Paris, and had immediately received a summons from him to repair to the head-quarters of the army of Italy, wherever they might be situated. Napoleon and Desaix were warmly attached to each other, and their meeting was a great and mutual pleasure. They were immediately closeted together for three hours; and Desaix related to his former general-in-chief all the details of the affairs of Egypt since the command had been entrusted to Kleber. That general, who, as we have seen, was much irritated at the sudden departure of Napoleon, and at the weighty charge so unceremoniously thrust upon himself, had made no secret of his sentiments. He had, besides, no faith in the possibility of maintaining Egypt as a province, and his first object was to convey the army safely back to France. This spirit in the commander-in-chief was rapidly caught by the greater part of his troops. Discontent prevailed, and plans for getting home again were the uppermost thoughts in nearly every mind. When news arrived that the Grand Vizier was approaching the frontier with another army, Kleber opened a negociation with him, the avowed basis of which was the evacuation of Egypt by the French; Sir Sydney Smith, who was still off the coast with his two ships, the *Tyger* and *Theseus*, acting as mediator. A treaty was signed at El Arisch, after some little delay, by which it was agreed that the French should evacuate Egypt; and that Kleber and his army should be suffered, on these conditions, to return to France unmolested by the English fleet. Generals Desaix and Davoust, much discontented with the conduct of Kleber, immediately asked permission to return to France at once, which was granted. Affairs in Egypt, however, took a completely different turn after their departure. The English government refused to ratify the treaty of El Arisch, and would make no other terms with the French army, except that they should become prisoners of war; Lord Keith being at the same time ordered to prevent their return to France. Sir Sydney Smith on this occasion acted with the highest honour, by informing Kleber without delay of the refusal. Had he concealed it, the French would have given up all their fortified places, and placed themselves in the power of their enemies. Kleber was roused at once by this harsh measure on the part of England. The news also of the events of the 18th Brumaire reached Egypt at this crisis, and the army became conscious that they should have to account for their conduct, not to the directory, but to Napoleon. Kleber now placed himself in a posture of defence; and upon the invasion of Egypt by the Grand Vizier, defeated him in a sanguinary battle, near the ruins of the ancient Heliopolis, in the vicinity of Cairo. He then began a vigorous administration of affairs, and directed all his efforts to repair the evils created by his former mistakes. Such was the state of Egypt at the period of the arrival of Desaix

in Italy. As Napoleon was highly interested in all that concerned that country, it will easily be supposed that he eagerly enquired into every detail. Desaix was appointed to the command of a division, the death of General Boudet having left one vacant.

Melas, after taking possession of Genoa, had brought his army under the ramparts of Alessandria, where he learned the destruction of Ott's division. He remained inactive at Alessandria during the 11th, 12th, and 13th of June; during which period the First Consul, uneasy lest his enemy should escape him, was employed in arrangements for every possible movement which might have been made. Desaix was sent to reconnoitre the high road to Novi; Lapoype to fall back on the Tesino, to frustrate any attempt in that direction; Napoleon himself crossed the Scrivia on the morning of the 13th, and marched to St. Julian, in the midst of the great plain of Marengo. By dividing his army in this manner, he placed himself in circumstances of great danger in the subsequent action. He, moreover, either neglected or misunderstood a report made to him by one of his aides-de-camp, whom he sent with pressing orders to destroy the lower bridge of the Bormida, possessed by the Austrians. The attempt failed, after a whole day's hard fighting; but Napoleon acted as though his repeated orders had been not only obeyed, but exactly fulfilled, and thus left his army in a position which made that bridge a point of extreme danger to his whole force.

Melas passed the night of the 12th in council. His situation was very critical. The army of the First Consul was before him; Suchet in his rear; Massena likely to be in action soon; and General Ott's division destroyed. On the other hand, the Austrians now possessed all the fortified places in the north of Italy, and the English army was expected at Genoa. It was determined at length to give battle to the French. The resolution was fraught with hazard, as it was impossible to secure a retreat in any direction; but the chances of victory were greatly in favour of the Austrians. Their infantry was superior in force; their cavalry, in particular, was three times more numerous than that of the French. The Austrians were upwards of forty thousand strong; while, in the absence of Desaix and the reserve, the French had scarcely twenty thousand. The Austrian army was formed in position behind the Bormida on the night of the 13th.

The advanced body of the French, commanded by Gardanne, occupied the hamlet of Padre Bona, which fronted Marengo, at a short distance. General Victor was stationed at Marengo, with the main body of the first line, the right of which extended to Castel Ceriola, nearly parallel with Marengo. A body of cavalry, under Kellermann, was stationed for the support of Victor, at a little distance behind. The second line, commanded by Lannes, and supported by the cavalry of Champeaux, was



stationed at some distance, in the rear of Victor and Kellermann. A third line, comprising the consular guard and the division of St. Cyr, was stationed at a similar distance behind Lannes and Champeaux, commanded by Napoleon. The Austrians advanced to the attack in two lines of heavy infantry: the first was led by General Haddick; the second, at some distance behind, by Melas and Zach. Meantime the body of cavalry, under General Elsnitz, were sent to make a detour round Castel Ceriola.

On the 14th of June, at break of day, the battle commenced. The advance, under Gardanne, was obliged to fall back upon Victor. Victor held his position during two hours against the enormous force opposed to him. He was obliged to vacate Marengo, but retook it; and this occurred twice or thrice. Napoleon now ordered Lannes to advance to the support of Victor; but, after a long and obstinate contest, the cavalry of Elsnitz suddenly appeared upon the right of Lannes, and both lines were compelled to retreat. The Austrians had fought the battle admirably. The infantry had opened an attack on every point of the French line, while the cavalry debouched across the bridge which the French had failed to destroy, and assailed the right of their army with such fury and rapidity, that it was thrown into complete disorder. The attack was successful everywhere: the centre of the French was penetrated, the left routed, and another desperate charge of the cavalry would have terminated the battle. The order for this, however, was not given; but the retreating French were still in the utmost peril. Napoleon had been collecting reserves between Garafolo and Marengo, and now sent orders for his army to retreat towards these reserves, and rally round his guard, which he stationed in the rear of the village of Marengo, and placed himself at their head. The soldiers could all see the First Consul with his staff, surrounded by the two hundred grenadiers of the guard, in the midst of the immense plain. The sight revived their hopes. The right wing, under Lannes, quickly rallied; the centre, reinforced by the scattered troops of the left, recovered its strength: the left wing no longer existed; its scattered remains fled in disorder, pursued by the Austrians. The battle continued to rage, and was obstinately disputed; but the main body of the French army, which still remained in order of battle, was continually, though very slowly, retreating. The First Consul had now despatched his aide-de-camp, Bruyere, to Desaix, with an urgent message to hasten to the field of battle. Desaix, on his part, had been arrested in his march upon Novi, by the repeated discharges of distant artillery: he had in consequence made a halt, and despatched Savary, then his aide-de-camp, with a body of fifty horse, to gallop with all possible haste to Novi, and ascertain the state of affairs there, according to the orders of the First Consul, while he kept his



division fresh and ready for action. Savary found all quiet at Novi; and returning to Desaix, after the lapse of about two hours, with this intelligence, was next sent to the First Consul. He spurred his horse across the country, in the direction of the fire and smoke, and fortunately met Bruyere, who was taking the same short cut to find Desaix. Giving him the necessary directions, Savary hastened to the First Consul. He found him in the midst of his guard, who stood their ground, on the field



of battle; forming a solid body in the face of the enemy's fire, the dismounted grenadiers stationed in front, and the place of each man who fell being instantly supplied from the ranks behind. Maps were spread open before Napoleon: he was planning the movement which decided the action. Savary made his report, and told him of Desaix's position. "At what hour did you leave him?" said the First Consul, pulling out his watch. Having been informed, he continued, "Well, he cannot be far off; go, and tell him to form in that direction (pointing with his hand to a particular spot): let him quit the main road, and make way for all those wounded men, who would only embarrass him, and perhaps draw his own soldiers after them." It was now three o'clock in the afternoon. The aged Melas, overcome with fatigue, and supposing the victory to be won, had retired from the field, and left General Zach

to follow up the pursuit. Desaix was quickly on the field, and his division now formed the left of the centre. He rode up to the First Consul, who explained to him the manoeuvre he was about to effect, and gave the orders instantly. The whole army wheeled its front upon the left wing of its centre, moving its right wing forward at the same time. By this movement, Napoleon effected the double object of turning all the enemy's troops, who had continued the pursuit of the broken left wing, and of removing his right to a distance from the bridge, which had been so fatal to him in the morning. The artillery of the guard was reinforced by that which belonged to Desaix's division, and formed an overwhelming battery in the centre. The Austrians made no effort to prevent this decisive movement; they supposed the First Consul was only occupied in securing his retreat. Their infantry in deep close columns was advancing rapidly, when at the distance of a hundred paces they suddenly halted, on perceiving Desaix's division exactly in front of them. The unexpected appearance of six thousand fresh troops, and the new position assumed by the French, arrested the battle: very few shots were heard; the two armies were preparing for a last effort.

Desaix now sent an urgent request to the First Consul not to delay the charge, and to support it with cavalry. Napoleon rode up in person to give him the order to attack, while he despatched Savary with commands to Kellermann, who was at the head of about six hundred heavy cavalry, to charge the Austrian column in flank, at the same time that Desaix charged it in front. Both generals effected the movement rapidly and successfully. The Austrian columns were utterly broken, dispersed, and closely pursued to the Bormida. The life of Desaix was the sacrifice. He fell mortally wounded as he gave the word to his men, and died instantly. The large masses of Austrian cavalry, who were in pursuit of the fugitives of the French left wing, no sooner witnessed this defeat than they fled in disorder towards the bridge opposite to Alessandria. The divisions of Lannes and Victor instantly resumed their positions in advance, and St. Cyr's division was nearer the bridge than the Austrians. The slaughter, therefore, was dreadful. Their army was thus thrown into the most terrible confusion in a moment; and the victory, which had seemed quite secure to them at three o'clock, was completely won by the French at six. The pursuit continued far into the night, the mixed deaths and mangling upon the dark bridges being one confused and crowded horror; while the whole of the Austrians who remained on the left bank were taken prisoners, or driven with headlong devastation into the Bormida. The waters ran a deep red with the blood of horses and of men, and presented in some parts a clotted surface of their mangled remains. Several entire battalions surrendered at discretion, and General Zach and all his staff were made prisoners.





The triumph of this decisive victory was poisoned to Napoleon by the death of Desaix. It seems that he never loved, nor regretted, any man so much, and he never spoke of him without deep feeling. Desaix met his death at the early age of thirty-three, and France lost in him a great general, and a man of great promise. Savary, who was much attached to him, sought for his body amongst the dead, and found him completely stripped of his clothes, lying among many others in the same condition. He wrapped him in a cloak, and with the assistance of a hussar, laid him across a horse which was led to Garafolo. Napoleon ordered the body to be carried to Milan, for the purpose of being embalmed. He further shewed his respect for the memory of Desaix, by retaining his aides-de-camp, Savary and Rapp, near his person.

Melas sent a flag of truce to the First Consul on the following morning, while he was preparing to pass the Bormida. A negociation was commenced, which was ratified the same evening, a convention being signed at Alessandria, by which Genoa, and all the fortified places in Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Legations, were given up to the French; and the Austrian army obtained leave to retire behind Mantua, without being made prisoners of war. France thus regained by one battle, everything that had been lost since the last peace, with the single exception of Mantua. It has been said of the battle of Marengo, that it was the



most decisive, and the worst fought of all Napoleon's victories; and it has been common to award to Desaix the whole merit of the action. The account of the battle here given, has been chiefly taken from the memoirs of Savary, carefully compared with all other authorities. The reader cannot fail to see how far Napoleon's mistakes and omissions endangered a defeat, and how far his skilful combinations, and application of his advantages, finally ensured the victory. Admitting all the ability and promptitude, which he never failed to display in emergencies, it is nevertheless fair to assume, that if Savary and Bruyere, had not happened to meet in their sort of steeple-chase across the country, the reserve of Desaix would not have been on the field till some time later, when Napoleon would most probably have lost the battle. The account given by Napoleon himself of the battle of Marengo is not wholly correct.

The First Consul returned to Milan on the night of the 17th. He found the city illuminated, and ringing with the most enthusiastic rejoicings. The roads and streets were lined with people, who greeted him with shouts of welcome. Draperies were hung from the windows, which were crowded by women of the first rank, who threw flowers into his carriage as he passed. He set off for Paris on the 24th of June; leaving Massena commander-in-chief of the army of Italy.

In an able treatise on the military system of Napoleon, by Colonel Thompson, it is remarked, that "From the moment hostile forces were put in movement against Napoleon, the next news to be looked for was, that he had chosen his point, and was to be heard of in the middle of them." This applies with peculiar force to his sudden descent from the Alps upon his enemies, when not only they, but the people of his own country, fully believed he was in France. The Parisians had scarcely been able to credit the victory of Marengo. Rumours of a defeat had first arrived, and the contrast produced a kind of delirium. They regarded the First Consul, with sensations approaching to worship. Paris was illuminated, and the people waited his return with the utmost impatience. He travelled by Mount Cenis. As he approached Lyons, the roads were literally lined with the inhabitants of all the surrounding districts. His carriage passed for miles between rows of enthusiastic people. The inhabitants of Lyons crowded to the hotel, where he alighted to breakfast; forced the gates, and compelled him to shew himself on the balcony. At Dijon, where he next went, there were the same immense crowds to welcome him; and when he reached his apartments, he found them lined with all the youngest and handsomest women of the place. He held a review of the troops here, and this self-appointed guard of young girls accompanied him, loaded with flowers, and myrtle, and laurel branches, which they strewed at

his horse's feet. They crowded so closely round him, that he would not return into the town, being fearful of some accident, but had his carriage brought to the ground, and went on from thence. He never forgot this enthusiastic reception. Such are the emotions excited in the imagination and the heart by the presence of great conquerors, fresh from their fields of deadly harvest; such the mental influence of the wielder, or even passive bearer, of vast physical powers; while philosophers, poets, and indefatigable philanthropists, go down towards their lonely graves clad in weeds, unheeded by the world they sought to benefit. It is, nevertheless, a most cheering reflection that such strength of enthusiasm and passionate sense of excellence exists in human nature; and that a higher application of that indestructible and saving principle may some day be anticipated.

The First Consul travelled so fast, that he found the preparations to welcome him at Sens only half completed. He entered under a triumphal arch, on which the painter was employed in tracing the words, "Veni, Vidi, Vici." The post-master of Montereau, in his zeal, insisted upon driving the First Consul's carriage himself, but not being equally expert as zealous, he overturned it. No one, however, was hurt. He entered Paris on the 6th of July. The population had been waiting for him all day in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, and assembled there again early in the morning, till learning that he had arrived in the night, the crowds repaired to the gardens of the Tuileries, which were thronged the whole day. All the inhabitants of Paris left their occupations. Shouts of welcome sounded from the gardens, the courts, and the quays; and an universal illumination testified the joy of the whole city.







## CHAPTER XIX.

PLOTS AGAINST THE LIFE OF THE FIRST CONSUL—DEATH OF KLEBER—ENGLAND GRANTS TO AUSTRIA A LOAN OF TWO MILLIONS—AUSTRIA REFUSES THE TREATY WITH FRANCE—MALTA SURRENDERS TO ENGLAND—SECOND LETTER OF LOUIS XVIII. TO THE FIRST CONSUL—HIS REPLY—HOSTILITIES RENEWED—BATTLE OF HOHENLINDEN—AUSTRIA SUES FOR A FURTHER ARMISTICE—INFERNAL MACHINE—ARBITRARY MEASURES OF THE FIRST CONSUL—CONFEDERATION OF THE NORTH—TREATY OF LUNEVILLE.



THE rumours of defeat which had preceded the news of the victory of Marengo, had excited hopes in the secret enemies of the First Consul, which were not easily forgotten, and continued to exert their influence even after the subsequent triumph. Two parties in France equally hated his power, and longed for his downfall. These were the Jacobins and the royalists; who, opposite as they

were in political principles, met on this common ground of enmity. The remains of the old republican party, who submitted to, rather than approved of, the consular government, would scarcely have regretted to see the defeat of the French arms, if it had come accompanied with



the ruin of the man whose despotism they dreaded. Among these, Carnot, though minister of war, is said to have circulated, with ill-concealed satisfaction, the first erroneous rumours of the disaster of Marengo; a circumstance which Napoleon discovered, and never forgot. The unprincipled members of the two hostile parties, did not confine themselves to mere wishes and opinions, they began to form schemes to get rid, by assassination, of a man whose power seemed too firmly established to be shaken by other means.

The first attempt was made by some discontented Italian patriots, one of whom was Arena, the brother of that deputy who was said to have aimed a dagger at Napoleon in the Council of Five Hundred. A sculptor among them, who had once been a passionate admirer of Napoleon, and had made a statue of him, asked permission again to model him, with the intention to stab him in the course of his work, but his heart failed him when the time came, and he never began it. They next plotted to assassinate him at the opera, but were discovered by the police, and two of them were seized behind the scenes, armed with concealed daggers. Chevalier and Veycer, men who had formerly belonged to the Terrorist faction, next contrived a machine, consisting of a barrel of gunpowder stuck round with grape-shot, and pieces of old iron, and so constructed as to explode by means of a slow match at the moment the First Consul was passing through the streets. But they were so very "scientific" in their scheme, as to make a preliminary experiment in the outskirts of Paris, and the explosion led to suspicions, and the arrest of the parties, so that their plan came to nothing; but it gave a hint to others, as will be subsequently perceived. Napoleon made light of all these plots, and the suspected authors of them were merely detained in prison, without any further proceedings against them.

The 14th of July was celebrated this year in the Champ de Mars, with unusual magnificence, and attended by an immense concourse of people. The First Consul appeared on the ground on horseback, and the enthusiasm with which he was received by the people, was roused to the highest pitch by the arrival of the consular guard from Marengo, which happened immediately afterwards. They joined the multitude, assembled to celebrate their great national festival, after a march of nine and twenty days; dusty and fatigued, and with equipments shattered by the terrible conflict they had sustained. They had left the field of Marengo the day after the action.

The unexpected intelligence of the death of Kleber reached Paris at this period. He had been stabbed to the heart by a Syrian *fellah*, or peasant, who approached him while walking on the terrace of his garden, under pretence of presenting a petition. The wretched assassin was seized, and put to death with horrible tortures—disgraceful to the French;

and which he bore with the same cool resolution which he had shewn in committing the crime. He was only eighteen or twenty years of age; and declared that he had quitted his native city of Damascus at the command of the Grand Vizier, for the express purpose of killing the Grand Sultan of the French. He had performed the whole journey on foot, and immediately upon arriving in Cairo had performed his devotions in the mosque, and then executed his project. The act was base and revolting; the spirit of its accomplishment, under different circumstances, would have exalted him into a high-minded martyr.

The First Consul was deeply shocked, and much affected, at this tragical event; not that any affection existed between him and Kleber, but that he knew the importance of the loss to Egypt. General Menou succeeded to the command there, in order of seniority, and his incapacity amply justified the worst fears of Napoleon. Kleber was assassinated on the very day that Desaix received his death-wound at Marengo.

The Emperor Paul saved the royal family of Naples from the summary punishment which was impending over them from Napoleon, for their alliance with England, during the war which broke out in his absence, for the overthrow of the republic he had established in Naples, and for their resumption of the sovereign authority under the auspices of Lord Nelson. When the defeat of the Austrians left all Italy defenceless, Napoleon ordered Murat to advance upon Naples with ten thousand men; but the Queen had fled to St. Petersburg at the first apprehension of the danger to implore the mediation of the emperor, which she obtained, and the First Consul immediately accepted; exciting afresh, by his politic magnanimity, the romantic admiration of the Czar. The Neapolitan troops were nevertheless forced to evacuate the territories of the Church, which they had occupied, having driven out the French authorities established by the Directory; and, to the astonishment of all Europe, Pope Pius VII. was formally restored to his dominions by Napoleon, and the papal government re-established in all its forms. This measure gave the first indication of a line of policy which was developed at no distant period.

The armistice was fast drawing to a close, and Austria still delayed to ratify the treaty despatched from the field of Marengo. The First Consul actively prepared for war; while the wants of France, which became daily more apparent, made him earnestly long for peace. Trade and commerce were languishing under the protracted blockade of all the chief harbours of the country by the English fleet; provisions were dear, and the people beginning to murmur under the oppressive burdens of the seemingly endless war. The moment was, however, most inauspicious for expecting a peace with England. Malta was on the very

point of surrendering to her fleet, and Egypt in consequence more than ever incapable of receiving supplies from France, or resisting a hostile invasion. It was not to be expected that at such a crisis Mr. Pitt would listen to proposals of peace: but the case was very different with the Emperor of Austria, whose situation was most critical, menaced as he was by three powerful armies—Moreau, on the Rhine; Brune, who had superseded Massena, in Italy; and Macdonald in the Tyrol. Mr. Pitt had exclaimed, after Marengo, “Shut up the map of Europe; it will be useless to look into it for twenty years.” Yet at this moment he would not relinquish the continental struggle. A loan of two millions from England encouraged the emperor to make preparations for a new attempt against his formidable enemy, and he protracted the negotiations accordingly. Meanwhile, on the 5th of September, 1800, Malta surrendered to England, after a blockade of two years.

At this very period, the Bourbon princes renewed their efforts to bring Napoleon to treat with them. A second letter from Louis XVIII. was put into his hands, in the month of September. It was as follows:

“You must have long since been convinced, General, that you possess my esteem. If you doubt my gratitude, fix your reward, and mark out the fortunes of your friends. As to my principles, I am a Frenchman, merciful in character and also by the dictates of reason. No; the conqueror of Lodi, Castiglione, and Arcola; the conqueror of Egypt and Italy, cannot prefer vain celebrity to real glory. But you are losing precious time. We may insure the glory of France. I say *we*, because I require the aid of Bonaparte and he can do nothing without me. General, Europe observes you; glory awaits you; and I am impatient to restore peace to my people.

“LOUIS.”

Several weeks elapsed before Napoleon finally replied, in the following terms:—

“SIR—I have received your letter, and I thank you for the compliments you address to me. You must not seek to return to France. To do so, you must trample over a hundred thousand dead bodies. Sacrifice your interest to the repose and happiness of France, and history will do you justice. I am not insensible to the misfortunes of your family, and I shall learn with pleasure that you are surrounded with all that can contribute to the tranquillity of your retirement.

“NAPOLÉON.”

The Comte d'Artois (the future Charles X.) resorted to a more artful method of negotiating. He employed the beautiful Duchesse de Guiche as a mediator. She obtained permission to visit the capital on







THE FORTY-THIRD DEMI-BRIGADE AT THE BATTLE OF HOHENLINDEN

pretence of urgent private affairs, and was introduced at the Tuileries, where she captivated Josephine by the grace of her manners. The First Consul did not escape the influence of her fascination; but the moment she touched upon politics he penetrated her object, and she received an order to quit Paris.

Preliminaries of peace had been signed at Paris, between the Austrian general, Saint Julian, and the French government. Duroc was despatched to the emperor, to obtain his ratification of the articles, but having reached the head-quarters of the army of the Rhine, he was refused a pass to proceed on his journey. Napoleon immediately ordered Moreau to recommence hostilities, unless the emperor delivered up the three fortresses of Ulm, Ingolstadt, and Phillipsburg, as pledges of his sincerity. Austria accordingly purchased a further protraction of the armistice at this heavy price; at the same time offering to treat for peace on new grounds. News of the occupation of the three fortresses by the French troops, was announced in Paris on the 23rd of September, where the fresh hopes of peace caused universal satisfaction. These hopes, however, proved delusive. Austria delayed and equivocated, until it became evident that the emperor would make no peace separate from England, and that the latter power was prepared to support her ally. The First Consul, to whom the armistice was injurious, unless followed by peace, ordered his armies to advance on all points, on the 15th of November; and Moreau accordingly crossed the Iser; Brune crossed the Mincio; Augereau, at the head of the Gallo-Batavian army, pressed forward into Bohemia. The Archduke John was now placed at the head of the Austrian army, which amounted to seventy thousand men. The French army, if skilfully combined, might have numbered double that force; but, on the 1st of December, when the hostile forces encountered at Haag, Moreau was considerably inferior in numbers to his opponent, and experienced a check, in a slight action which ensued. But the Austrians not following up their first movement, which had been executed with great bravery and skill, the French general was enabled to bring up a sufficient force to make his army equal in numbers to that of the archduke, during the night of the 2nd, between the Inn and the Iser, at the outskirts of the forest of Hohenlinden. The snow, as yet "all bloodless and untrodden," lay on the ground so deep, as completely to hide all traces of the roads, and still fell thickly: the Iser, "dark as winter," rolled its rapid flood. At break of day, the archduke advanced to the attack, and after a desperate and most sanguinary battle, sustained a complete defeat from Moreau; and was forced to retreat, leaving ten thousand men dead on the field, and seven thousand prisoners, among whom were two generals; and abandoning his whole park of artillery, amounting to one hundred





was spreading through the assembled multitude. The silence was succeeded by an overwhelming burst of emotion. Every one rose—every eye was directed upon him; and by the expressions of congratulation and affection which surrounded him on every side, he could not fail to perceive, that, whatever might be the hostile intentions of a few individuals, he was firmly established in the hearts of the people at large. He remained but a little while, and then drove back to the Tuileries.

The first suspicion of this reckless attempt at assassination fell upon the Jacobins; and Napoleon, who dreaded them the more, because he was conscious of being himself regarded as a deserter from their principles, seized the opportunity to weaken them by an arbitrary exercise of power. He procured a decree of the Senate for banishing beyond seas one hundred and thirty of the most noted members of the obnoxious party, without trial, or the slightest proof of guilt. The decree was, however, never enforced in its full extent, the individuals on whom it fell, being suffered to remain in France, but strictly watched by the police, and not allowed to approach Paris. This was bad enough with regard to men not convicted of any crime. We cannot omit noticing the culpable want of candour displayed by Bourrienne, in his account of this transaction.

He circumstantially details and exaggerates Napoleon's exasperation against the Jacobins; gives the history of the decree; but never informs his readers that it was not enforced. He does not in precise terms say that it *was*, though he clearly implies it, more than once; but this is a sufficient salve to his conscience, and an illustration of the caution with which his assertions should be received. His extreme accuracy on many points, and the stores of interesting matter contained in his memoirs, make him too valuable a writer to be neglected, but render it the more necessary that his mis-statements should be corrected.

Fouché had maintained from the first, that the royalists were the criminals on this occasion; and, by the agency of the police, the actual conspirators were shortly discovered. Carbon and St. Regent were condemned and executed; some other men, arrested on suspicion, were acquitted. The chief actors in the former attempts against the life of the First Consul, were also tried and executed, to the number of seven.

But the First Consul did not stop with the punishment of the immediate actors in these crimes. He made them the occasion of the establishment of a new court of justice, highly despotic in its constitution. It consisted of eight judges; three of whom belonged to the ordinary criminal court; three were officers in the army, bearing at least the rank of captain; two were citizens chosen by the government. Five out of the eight were therefore nominated by the government. They were to decide without jury, appeal, or revision of any kind; but a bare majority was not sufficient for condemnation. The prisoner was acquitted unless six out of eight, or four out of six, found him guilty. Less than six did not constitute a court. Before this tribunal, all armed insurgents, conspirators, and, in especial, the bands of robbers called *chauffeurs*, who then infested the roads, stopped the public carriages, and interrupted commerce and trade, were to be tried. The existence of these armed bands made, indeed, an ostensible reason for the erection of the new court. When, however, the plan was laid before the legislative body, and by that body, referred to the consideration of the Tribunal, it received the most determined opposition. Benjamin Constant, Daunon, Chenier, and others, made an honourable defence against this invasion of the constitution, and it was only carried in the Tribunal by a small majority of forty-nine over forty-one. A large minority also opposed it in the legislative body. Another, and still more arbitrary law, was also passed at this time, in spite of all opposition, by which the executive government was permitted to banish from Paris, or from France, any person suspected of entertaining opinions inimical to the present state of affairs. No despot ever wielded a more terrible instrument of oppression than this, though we are bound to admit that Napoleon used it with great leniency. The perfect organisation of the police completed the whole



fabric. Under Fouché's able guidance, an universal system of espial now pervaded the whole of France, of which his cabinet formed the centre. The experience of the minister of police, who had once been a furious Jacobin, and next a tool of Barras, was extensive enough, and the individuals in his pay were countless in number. Many persons were also employed as informers, by his wily management, who were utterly unconscious of what they were about. Among these, we believe, were several persons of distinction about the First Consul's person; perhaps even related to him; but, in the absence of all proof, it is better to suppress their names than leave them open to supposititious odium.

While Fouché thus watched even the head of the government himself, Napoleon, as we have seen, held checks over him. At the period of the consulate, no less than four reports of police were presented to him every morning. The press was under the strictest surveillance, and the opinions of private individuals were watched. Madame de Staël was, at this period, ordered to quit Paris; her intimacy with Benjamin Constant, then one of the heads of the opposition in the Tribune, of course being the cause. The consolidation of a despotism was, by all these measures, fast approaching to its climax. For what purpose it was established,—whether as the necessary step in the mind of Napoleon to secure the undisturbed opportunity of establishing in its place a just and enlightened system of government, and of raising France to a high pitch of glory and prosperity; or, as some of his historians, and a very large class of readers, have affirmed, to gratify his own ambition, and advance his own selfish interest,—the use he made of this power must comprise, after all, the best answer. The wisdom of his course, or its probability of success, assuming the first position to be correct, is quite another question; but in deciding upon this point (now that the faults of the man, and the result of his plans in signal failure, are all before us, to assist to the reply), it should never be forgotten that an unintermitted course of hostility continually thwarted his designs, and tended to exasperate his mind, turning his feelings into bitterness, when they might naturally have been pacific and beneficial.

In the month of December of the same year (1800), the First Consul succeeded in establishing the compact, entitled the "Confederation of the North," between Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark. The purpose of this confederation was to resist the practice, entitled "the right of search," or the habitual boarding of neutral vessels, and seizing all goods which belonged to hostile powers. This right was now, and had been, from the earliest times, exercised by England, as mistress of the seas, more generally than by any other power, and led to continual heart-burnings and much wrong and oppression. The association of the Northern States, in 1780, known as the "Armed Neutrality," had this



same object in view; and its principle, that "free bottoms made free goods," was again adopted by the maritime powers of the north. All the ports of Russia, Prussia, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark, were now shut against England. Hanover formed part of Prussia; that country having taken possession of these continental dominions of the King of England; and Hamburg had been seized by Denmark. The two great powers of Russia and France now ruled, or directed, all the north of Europe.

While the First Consul was thus employed in ruling men and nations, the grand ambition of the Second Consul was to give the best dinners in Paris. Cambacérès did not believe that a good government could exist without good dinners, and his glory was to know that his table was the subject of eulogy throughout Paris; and, indeed, all over Europe. A dinner, of which every one talked with gusto, was to him an Arcola, or a Marengo. Napoleon discovered during the conferences at Luneville, that the couriers frequently brought with them certain delicacies of the table to favoured individuals, and forbade the practice. On the very evening that the order was issued, and while he was laughing at the idea of the mortification this regulation would cause to his colleague, Cambacérès entered. "Well, Cambacérès," said the First Consul, "what brings you here at this time of night?" "I come," answered the Second Consul, with the greatest gravity and earnestness, "to solicit an exception to the order which you have just given to the postmasters. How do you think a man can make friends unless he keeps a good table? You know very well how much good dinners assist the business of government." The First Consul upon this laughed heartily; and patting him on the shoulder, said, "Do not distress yourself, my dear Cambacérès, you shall be an exception. The couriers shall continue to bring you your *dindes aux truffes*, your Strasburg *pâtés*, your Mentz hams, and your *bartavelles*."

In the midst of all his triumphs, the First Consul never forgot Desaix. His loss continued to cast a gloom over the most brilliant scenes of festivity and rejoicing. Upon being congratulated on the evening of the victory of Marengo, and rather importunately pressed for an acknowledgment that he was "satisfied" with his success, Napoleon was heard to say, "But Desaix! Ah, what a triumph would this have been, if I could have embraced him to-night on the field of battle!" The regret was not overcharged. It was the misfortune of Napoleon's life, that he was an habitual despiser of men, and the loss of one true friend, in whom he acknowledged nobility of soul, was, to him, incalculable. The people of Paris got up a subscription about this time to erect a monument to Desaix, but scarcely eight hundred pounds were collected, with which a monument was subsequently erected on the Place Dauphine.

The First Consul, much dissatisfied at the result of the subscription, gave the name of Desaix to a new quay, the first stone of which was laid on the 14th of July with much solemnity.

"The talent of Desaix," said Napoleon at St. Helena, "was always in full activity; he lived only for noble ambition and glory; his character was formed on the true ancient model. His death was the greatest loss I could possibly have sustained. The conformity of our education and principles would always have preserved a good understanding between us. Desaix would have been satisfied with secondary rank, and would have remained ever devoted and faithful. Had he not been killed at the battle of Marengo, I would have given him the command of the army of Germany, instead of continuing it to Moreau."

The treaty of Luneville, between Austria and France, was finally signed and ratified in February, 1801. The news reached Paris on the 14th, at a time when the people were all assembled at the carnival. The popular amusements were forgotten in the joy excited by the auspicious event; splendid fêtes were given by eminent individuals in Paris, amongst whom Talleyrand particularly distinguished himself; while the people crowded the gardens of the Tuileries, with shouts of "Long live Bonaparte," and gave way to their national gaiety in dances under his windows, the band of the consular guard acting as orchestra.







## CHAPTER XX.

CONTINUATION OF WAR WITH ENGLAND—BATTLE OF COPENHAGEN—DEATH OF PAUL—PREPARATIONS TO INVADE ENGLAND—INVASION OF PORTUGAL—FULTON AND THE STEAM BOAT—BATTLE OF ALEXANDRIA, AND DEATH OF SIR RALPH ABERCROMBY—CAPITULATION OF MENOU—THE CONCORDAT—RETURN OF THE EMIGRANTS—MR. PITT SUCCEEDED BY MR. ADDINGTON—PRELIMINARIES OF PEACE WITH ENGLAND—VIGOROUS AND BENEFICENT INTERNAL GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE—LEGION OF HONOUR—PEACE OF AMIENS—NAPOLEON CONSUL FOR LIFE.



By the peace of Luneville, Napoleon for the second time effected the pacification of the continent. Of all the powerful coalition which threatened France in 1800, England alone continued hostile in 1801; if we except Turkey, with which no arrangement could be made until the affairs of Egypt were settled. The English ships scoured their subject seas, frowning defiance on the nation which their government would not recognise; enforcing that obnoxious right of search which they claimed as their own; always ready to attack every weak point or distant settlement of their great enemy; and maintaining with indomitable power the sovereignty of the ocean. All the northern coast of Europe bristled with batteries; troops were marched to different stations to observe these formidable antagonists;



and every height which commanded the ocean was put in a state of defence.

The repose which was thus granted to the suffering world, affords an opportunity which should not be neglected, to take a brief retrospect of the career of the extraordinary man who held, for the time, the fate of nations in his hand. The short period of eight years had not quite elapsed since his name was first heard in Europe, as the skilful commandant of artillery, at the siege of Toulon. In that year, 1793, Republican France was assailed on every frontier by haughty enemies, who scorned to recognise her as a nation. In the course of 1797, the commandant of artillery, now the conqueror of Italy, dictated the treaty of Campo-Formio to the proud and imperial house of Austria; and left the republic, greatly increased in territory and power, and at peace with all Europe, with the exception only of her steady and inflexible foe, England, when he sailed for Egypt in the following year. Again, when all Europe, breaking the peace, had risen up against France, in the formidable coalition of 1800, Napoleon, now First Consul, had, in eight months, effected a second peace on conditions still more advantageous to his country, but so moderate in its terms, that even his greatest accusers allow it evinced a strong and decided wish to put an end to the war. These circumstances are too apt to be forgotten by those who remember Napoleon only as a great military commander, and decide, without examination, that he was insatiably fond of war, and pursued it with blind and senseless ambition on all occasions. Justice therefore required that at this period we should mark the presumptive proofs to the contrary, afforded by the two treaties of Campo-Formio and Luneville.

Russia possessed eighty-seven ships of the line, and forty frigates; France, besides her own navy, consisting of upwards of fifty ships of the line and forty frigates, held the Dutch, Spanish, and Neapolitan fleets at her disposal. Immense preparations were made by the other allied powers to reinforce their marine. England was menaced, therefore, by a formidable array of enemies. The promptitude of the English administration, however, ably seconded by the skill and courage of their unrivalled admiral, began the attack, without waiting till their enemies had time to assemble. Nelson passed the Sound on the morning of the 30th of March, and anchored before Copenhagen in the evening, with twenty ships. The Swedish fleet was expected the next day; but the Danish government was totally without succour at the moment, and had to depend alone on their own fleet, and the batteries of the city, all of which prepared for a strenuous defence. Terms were offered by Nelson, but they were too humiliating to be accepted. A desperate battle ensued, which lasted for four hours, and ended in the destruction of the Danish fleet, and the loss of two thousand lives. The

English lost nearly a thousand men; and the resistance was so obstinate, that at one period the victory was doubtful; but it was sufficiently decisive in its termination to force Denmark to solicit an armistice of a hundred days. One of the northern powers was thus removed from the list of the enemies of England.

A far more important event had, however, already occurred, though its dark details were not yet spread abroad in Europe, which, by its consequences, broke the coalition of the north altogether, and saved Great Britain from whatever peril threatened her at that period. On the night of the 23rd of March, the Emperor Paul was assassinated in his own palace. The politics of the north of Europe were entirely changed by this tragical circumstance. The Emperor Alexander, who succeeded to the throne, concluded a treaty of peace with England shortly after his accession; and Denmark and Sweden were compelled to follow in his track.

The private feelings of the First Consul, as well as his plans with regard to the foreign relations of France, received a severe shock from the death of Paul. It is certain that he had planned, in conjunction with Russia, an expedition against the English possessions in India. A passionate exclamation of "My God!" most unusual with him, escaped his lips at the announcement of the news. A paragraph appeared in "The Moniteur," to the following effect:—"Paul I. died on the night of the 23rd of March. The English fleet passed the Sound on the 30th. History will unveil the connexion which may have existed between these events." No warrant for so black an insinuation is, however, afforded by history. The unfortunate emperor died by the hands of conspirators, whom his own caprices and despotic acts had provoked. The plot was some time in coming to maturity; and Paul himself was tormented with suspicions of his impending fate, and received frequent warnings to be on his guard. It is, therefore, extremely unlikely that the English ambassador, then in Russia, should not have discovered some traces of the design; but that he was concerned in it, no proof whatever can be adduced. Fouché settled the question with great indifference. "After all," said he, "why say so much about it? It is a mode of getting rid of a sovereign, quite appropriate to that country." "*C'est une mode de destitution propre à ce pays là.*"

The political aspect of Europe being thus materially changed, and the First Consul thwarted in his system of combination against the naval supremacy of England, he now contemplated a more direct and open mode of aggression. Active preparations, the assembling together of vast numbers of flat-bottomed boats at Boulogne, the marching of troops to the coast, all shewed that the invasion of England was his object. The threatened attack was met by a corresponding determination of vigorous

resistance, and the most vigilant observations of the motions of their enemy, were maintained by the English fleet.

At this period, when the great objects of Napoleon's policy were controlled and obstructed by one enemy alone, who inveterately and resolutely resisted him at every point, while secure in an insular position, and an unconquerable navy, that enemy could defy every effort of his skill and power, it is curious to observe that he had within his grasp, the means of neutralising all those advantages, and of eluding every precaution taken against him. At this very moment it was, that Fulton, the inventor of steam-boats, communicated his discovery to the First Consul. Napoleon thus had the first chance placed in his hands of possessing exclusively, for a time, the greatest and most diversified means of physical power ever known in the world. How much he could effect in a very brief time, has already been shewn. The steam-engine would, indeed, have far more than supplied, in many ways, the loss of the expected junction of the immense navy of Russia, and the invasion of England would have speedily followed. A vast, and not easily definable field of operation, both at home and abroad, under such a director, and before any other nation could find means of obtaining any similar power to compete with these terrible engines,—thus springing up like irresistible demons, docile to their master's hand,—is thus opened to the imagination. Let the conduct, on this momentous occasion, of the greatest practical man that ever lived, induce some toleration for those of less genius, who daily commit, in principle, the same species of short-sighted superciliousness. But let it, nevertheless, be a salutary warning to all. Scarcely deigning to bestow a thought upon the subject, the First Consul treated the inventor as a "visionary."

Simultaneously with the extensive preparations for invasion on the northern coast of France, a French army crossed the Pyrennees, to co-operate with Spain, in an attack on Portugal, the ancient ally of England. Lucien Bonaparte had been previously despatched to Lisbon with propositions of peace, on condition that Portugal would abandon the alliance of England; but the offer had been rejected. The situation of the peninsula at this period, was briefly as follows. Spain was governed, nominally, by Charles IV., a lineal descendant of the branch of the house of Bourbon, established there by the power of Louis XIV. The real ruler of Spain, however, was Godoy, known generally by his title of Prince of Peace, a title expressly invented to do him honour, when all the hitherto acknowledged honours and distinctions of the kingdom had been successively heaped upon him. Godoy was the queen's lover, and the king's favourite, and he maintained these seemingly incompatible relations with unabated hold, to the end of their reign; and whether he held any direct office in the ministry or not, it was he who ruled all its counsels.



The wonder was increased by his well known and undisguised profligacy, which might have been naturally expected to offend his royal mistress; and, to add to the entanglement, he was married to the king's niece. Godoy, who had been raised to this pitch of power from the rank of a mere life-guardsmen, with a handsome person, a fine voice, and a talent for playing on the flute, was not troubled with any prejudices about the honour of nations, or the divine right of kings. He simply desired to maintain his own power, that he might enjoy his riches and his pleasures. He therefore carefully studied to court the alliance of that nation, which his sagacity taught him was in the ascendant. Notwithstanding the horror with which the Spaniards, a highly superstitious and loyal people, regarded the execution of Louis XVI., and the enthusiasm with which they flew to arms, to avenge what they considered the sacrilegious murder of the head of their own royal house, a peace was concluded with the Directory of France, after a very brief struggle, in the year 1795, under the auspices of Godoy. This peace, whence he derived his title, he carefully maintained; and after the 18th Brumaire, the amicable relations of France and Spain became firmer than ever. He himself was generalissimo of the army, which, in 1801, prepared to invade Portugal, in conjunction with the French troops under General Leclerc.

Portugal had been governed for some years by Don John, Prince of Brazil, as regent, in place of his mother, Queen Mary, who was insane. The regent was remarkable, even in the most superstitious country of Europe, for his passion for religious ceremonies. He had no other passion or thought. He was never known to have either mistress or favourite, but he frequently changed his confessor, and his counsels varied according to their influence. When the peace of 1795, between France and Spain, was announced, and Portugal was left alone to sustain the enmity of the new republic, apprehensions at the prospect induced a disposition to desert the long-established alliance with England. This alliance was cemented by reciprocal commercial interests, and important to Portugal, on account of the incapacity of that country to maintain possession of the Brazils, without the friendship of the great naval power. In 1797, a treaty of peace was, notwithstanding, arranged between Portugal and France; but before it was ratified, an army of eight thousand emigrants in British pay was landed in Portugal, a subsidy of two hundred thousand pounds was voted by the English parliament to its assistance, and the treaty with France was broken off. This decisive policy called for vigorous preparations for war; and, accordingly, unusual efforts were made to put the country in a state of defence, and to recruit the army. The former was easily effected; for the mountainous nature of the country, and the spirit of its inhabitants, only required energy on the part of the government to turn these natural capabilities to good account. When, however, the

declaration of war by France and Spain was followed by the invasion of 1801, the resistance of Portugal was speedily overcome. No assistance was given by England; the remains of the emigrant regiments, before mentioned, being all the foreign force in the country. The Spanish army amounted to forty thousand men, the French to fifteen thousand, but the latter remained on the frontier. The Duke de Lafões, the prime minister of Portugal, and commander-in-chief of the army, was a gay veteran of eighty-two, who saw very clearly the uselessness of the contest, and having travelled a great deal, had got rid of most of his national exaltation. He waited very philosophically at his head quarters for the approach of the Spanish army, which on its part advanced with nearly equal aversion to hostile measures, and probably would have avoided fighting altogether, had not Godoy happened to feel a sudden inclination to distinguish himself by some feat of arms. The Regent of Portugal was married to the daughter of the King of Spain, who had no sort of inclination to see his son-in-law stripped of his dominions. There was a little fighting, however, but it was much in the spirit recommended by the old Duke de Lafões, to one of the principal Spanish officers, in a conference they held together. "Why should we fight," said he; "Portugal and Spain are sumpter mules. England urges *us* on; France spurs *you*. Let us frisk about; let us jingle our bells, if needful; but for God's sake, let us not harm one another. They would only laugh at our expense." After some military operations, conducted in the most polite manner, a peace was concluded in June, 1801, between Spain and Portugal, under the auspices of Lucien Bonaparte, by which Portugal renounced the English alliance, and shut her ports against English ships, besides sacrificing part of her territory to Spain. Lucien and Godoy are accused of having shared a large bribe between them on this occasion. The First Consul was dissatisfied with the treaty, refused to ratify it, and announced that a second French army of thirty thousand men, under St. Cyr, was about to cross the Pyrennees. The court of Lisbon, in alarm, immediately despatched a plenipotentiary to France, to treat on new bases, and deprived the Duke de Lafões of his post, and all his dignities. A jocular proclamation was thereupon posted about the streets of Lisbon to this effect:—"Lost, between Pontalegre and Abrantes, a boy about eighty-two years of age, with black velvet boots" (the duke wore velvet gaiters on account of the gout); "Whoever may find him, is requested to bring him to the office for advertisements." The Portuguese plenipotentiary was not allowed to land in France, but negotiations were carried on at Madrid, under the mediation of the king of Spain, and a peace between France and Portugal, was signed in September, 1801. The Portuguese government, by a secret article, now agreed to pay a million sterling to France; to shut their ports against England; to cede a portion of their American



territories to France; and to admit French woollen cloths into their country. The King of Spain was rewarded for his good offices, by the nomination of his son-in-law, Louis de Bourbon Duke of Parma, to a throne, erected by Napoleon, for this express purpose. Tuscany was made a kingdom, and the Duke of Parma was appointed its sovereign, with the title of King of Etruria. He visited Paris with the princess of Spain, his consort, and lived at the Tuileries and Malmaison, through great part of the summer of 1801. He was a very weak prince, and the Tuscans had no cause to thank the First Consul for his gift. He reconciled the matter to his conscience by saying, "Policy requires it; besides, the young man is not worse than the common run of kings." The 'young man,' however, was so very deficient in intellect, that the aides-de-camp who continually had his society imposed upon them, whilst Napoleon was engaged from morning till night in business, at last gave him children's playthings, and engaged him in hide-and-seek and leap-frog, being unable to amuse him by other means. Cambacérès once observed to the First Consul, "It is alleged that you wished to disgust the French people with royalty, by shewing them this fine specimen of a king."—"Not at all, not at all," replied he; "I have no wish to excite a distaste for royalty; but the presence of His Majesty the King of Etruria will vex a good many worthy folks, who are striving hard to revive a taste for the Bourbons." The vanity of the Parisians, was much flattered by the affair. They loudly cheered the First Consul at the theatre, when at the representation of "Oedipus," the following expression occurred:—

"I have made kings, but I would not be one."

Lucien Bonaparte still continued at the court of Spain, in quality of ambassador, but returned to France shortly afterwards. His stay there is said to have been the source of the large fortune which he amassed, though it was, in truth, a sort of splendid disgrace. The frequent recurrence of violent disputes between him and the First Consul, was the real cause of his mission. Talleyrand and Fouché undertook the task of effecting his resignation of the home department, for the sake of decorum, and the avoidance of public scandal. It is said that these quarrels originated in the publication of a tract, called "Parallel between Cæsar, Cromwell, Monk, and Bonaparte;" in which the principles of monarchy were openly advocated. This tract made a great noise at the time, and all the confidential friends of Napoleon assured him it would do him serious injury. Upon this, Napoleon sent for Fouché, and reproached him for suffering it to appear. The minister of police replied, that he had not thought proper to interfere, because he had traced the manuscript to the office of Lucien. "And why not denounce Lucien?" cried



Napoleon; "the author of this tract ought to have been arrested, and sent to the Temple." The First Consul quitted the room as he spoke. Fouché smiled, and whispered to Bourrienne, "Confine the author in the Temple!—that would not be so easy. Lucien shewed me the manuscript, and it was full of corrections in the hand-writing of the First Consul!" Lucien, in consequence, complained bitterly, that he had been made a puppet of, and abandoned. "The fault is your own," replied Napoleon; "it was your business not to be detected." The whole story, however, rests on questionable authority; but the quarrels were no less certain. During one of them, Lucien violently flung his portfolio, as minister, on his brother's desk, exclaiming, "that he the more readily resigned his public character, as he had suffered nothing but torment from subjection to such a despot;" and was, in consequence, ordered to leave the apartment under the charge of the aides-de-camp on duty. On another occasion, he flung his watch on the floor, in presence of the First Consul, exclaiming, "You will one day be smashed to pieces like that!"

England was pursuing the war with the same determination as ever, though no demonstration was made by the English arms in favour of Portugal. Continual encounters took place between the English cruisers and the French sloops and boats, as they successively approached the rendezvous at Boulogne.



England had, however, carried a much more important point against France than could be attained by any such encounters as these. On the 8th of March, 1801, a British army of seventeen thousand men landed in Egypt, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby. The French were very ill prepared for such an attack, the incapacity of Menou having shewn itself in dispersing his troops over the country, while his indecision, when the danger occurred, in no way repaired this evil. The English army overcame the resistance of the forces which opposed their landing through the heavy surf formed on the beach, and advanced upon their enemy. No general action came on until the 21st, when the English obtained a decisive victory, and drove Menou, with great loss, within the walls of Alexandria. Sir Ralph Abercromby fell, mortally wounded, in the course of the battle. General Hutchinson, on whom the command devolved, conducted the campaign to a most successful termination. Menou was blockaded in Alexandria, and a small body of English troops sufficed to keep him there; for their engineers had discovered the means of nearly surrounding the city with water, by cutting a sluice from the Lake of Aboukir into the bed of the ancient Lake Mareotis. General Hutchinson then marched upon Cairo, where General Belliard had been left with a small body of French troops. Cut off from all communication with Menou, and without the means of defence, Belliard capitulated, on condition of being taken back to France, with all his troops, and their arms and baggage. The English army marched back to the coast in consequence, escorting the French, and arrived just in time to receive the submission of Menou, to whom they granted exactly the same terms. An army of seven thousand men, detached from the English army in India, two thousand of whom were sepoys or native troops, were landed at Cosseir, on the Red Sea, simultaneously with the capitulation of Menou. They came to support the objects of the expedition, which had, however, been concluded without them. Thus ended the conquest of Egypt by Napoleon. Nothing remains of all his efforts of genius in that country: his victories, his vast projects, have left no traces behind; except a great work of science, compiled by the learned men who accompanied him, and the mouldering bones of the Mamelukes, bleaching on the sands of the desert.

The French admiral, Gantheaume, had long been making fruitless efforts to land reinforcements in Egypt, but had been unable to elude the British ships. He was now ordered to return to Toulon, where preparations were made to receive the French army on their disembarkation from the British ships. After perceiving his inability to land supplies and reinforcements in Egypt, Napoleon must have been prepared in some measure for this event; and he is said to have borne it



with much calmness. "However great," says Savary, "was the displeasure of the First Consul at what had taken place, and in particular at the conduct of several general officers of the army of Egypt after his departure, not an expression of ill-humour escaped him against any one; nor did he make enquiry into the conduct of a single individual. He shewed at all times a marked preference for those who formed a part of that army, whether in the distribution of favours, or in the nomination to lucrative employments; with the exception, however, of a few officers who had belonged to the army of Italy, but who had made themselves conspicuous by their bad spirit and ingratitude: and the only revenge he took on these was to forget them altogether."

Two measures of great importance, when viewed in their subsequent results, as well as their immediate effects, were originated in the spring of 1801, and carried through before the autumn. The first was the treaty with the Pope, known by the title of the Concordat, by which the Roman Catholic faith was recognised as the established religion of France. This measure must be carefully distinguished from the law which, at the very commencement of the Consulate, permitted the return of all the emigrant priests who would take the national oath, and decreed the re-opening of places of worship of every sect, in conformity with the principle, that "Conscience is not amenable to the law; and that the right of the sovereign power extends no further than to the exaction of obedience and fidelity." The present measure was a departure from that principle, because it did interfere with the rights of conscience, by conferring certain privileges on one sect, to the exclusion of others. The Concordat, however, resulted from the immediate practical working of the former consular decree, while departing from its principle. It was found that the priests who had returned to France were more lastingly imbued with the sense of the injuries than of the benefits which they had received. The one act, which had permitted their return to their country and friends, was passed, and might be forgotten: regrets for former riches and power were always present. The priests accordingly proved, in general, so many insidious enemies. They became emissaries in the hands of the emigrant bishops, who were likely to spread disaffection among the mass of the people, over whose associations they maintained a powerful influence. The First Consul had two paths to choose: either to abide by his principle, trusting to an enlightened system of national education and good institutions, to emancipate the people from the influence of the priests, in so far as that influence was debasing and mischievous; or to make use of the old associations which bound the people to the priests, to recognise them as constituting a power, and to take the direction of that power into his own hands. He chose the latter.



A portion of a conversation held by Napoleon on this subject with one of the councillors of state, as they walked together after dinner in the park at Malmaison, exactly explains his motives, and shews the nature of the treaty. After combating different systems of philosophers on modes of worship, natural religion, &c., all of which he designated as *ideology*, the First Consul expressed his own views thus:—"I was here last Sunday, walking out in this solitude, in the silence of Nature. The sound of the bells of the church at Ruel suddenly struck my ear. I was affected; so great is the power of early habit and of education! I said to myself 'Then, what an impression must it not make on simple and credulous minds!' It will be said I am a papist: I am nothing. I was a Mahometan in Egypt; I will be a Catholic here, for the good of the people. I do not belong to any religion; but the idea of a God!" lifting his hands towards the heavens, which were covered with stars; "who is it who has made all that? Let your philosophers, your metaphysicians, reply as they may: a religion is necessary for the people. It is also necessary that this religion should be in the hands of the government. Fifty emigrant bishops, in the interest of the Bourbons, at present govern the French clergy as they please. It is necessary to destroy this influence; the authority of the Pope is required for the purpose. He displaces them, or makes them give in their resignation. It is declared that the Catholic religion being that of the majority of Frenchmen, it is proper to regulate the exercise of it. The First Consul nominates fifty bishops, the Pope inducts them. They name the curates, the state pays their salaries. They take the oath; those who do not are banished. Such of them as preach against the government are denounced to their superiors to be punished. The Pope confirms the sale of the goods of the clergy: he consecrates the republic. They will then chaunt '*Salvum fac rem Gallicam.*'"

To a remark made in answer, to the effect that "he was about to raise up a power which might prove artful and dangerous, and that the opportunity he possessed for resisting deception and superstition was unexampled," the First Consul replied, that "the mass of the people were Catholic; that the enlightened part of the community were too indifferent to raise a schism against popery; and that he wished to avoid all internal dissension. That the Pope would forward his projects abroad:" adding, "my friend, there is no longer either good faith or belief; there is no longer any fear of the clergy; it is merely a political arrangement."

These words sufficiently explain the object and nature of the Concordat. It was simply a political arrangement, with a view to make use of the papal See as an engine of power, and to restore internal quietude. Some latent reverence for the ceremonies of the church

of Rome, derived from early recollections, we have no doubt swayed Napoleon (though unconsciously) in his determination to pursue such a policy. This dormant feeling was unequivocally evinced at the close of his life. The whole proceeding, however, had nothing to do, either with "the necessity for religion," or the earnest appeal to Divine power, with which Napoleon enhanced his argument.

The treaty was managed by Joseph Bonaparte, together with three colleagues, who held conferences with the plenipotentiaries of Pope Pius VII., and the articles were ratified on both sides on the 18th of September, 1801. The conditions were as follow:—The Catholic religion was to be established in France as the national religion, subject only to such regulations of police as the French government thought necessary. The Pope, in concert with the French government, was to make a new division of dioceses. The sees were to be filled up by the Pope, on nominations proceeding from the French government. The new bishops were to take an oath of fidelity to the government, and to ordain a form of prayer for the consuls. The church livings were to undergo a new division, and the bishops were to nominate to them, but only such persons as were approved by the government. The government was to make a suitable provision for the national clergy; while the Pope renounced all right, for himself and his successors, to challenge or dispute the sales of church property which had been made since the revolution.

"The Concordat," says Mr. Lockhart, "gave no satisfaction to the high Catholic party; who considered it as comprehending arrangements wholly unworthy of the dignity of the Pope, and destructive of the authority of the church. The Pope, in acceding to these terms, submitted to 'the exigence of the time; which,' said his Holiness in the deed itself, 'lays its violence even upon us.' The name of the First Consul was now introduced into the church service at least as often as that of the king had used to be." This was, indeed, an ominous introduction.

While the Catholic religion was established as the religion of the state, every other form of worship was allowed full liberty of exercise, and their ministers were paid. Civil rights were accorded to the Jews; and all barriers between them and other citizens were removed.

It will be seen, by the articles enumerated, how entirely the church of Rome yielded up its supremacy in spiritual matters before the power of the French republic. The First Consul brought the negotiation to so satisfactory a conclusion, according to his views, that he afterwards declared, that if there had not been a Pope, he would have made one for the occasion. A grand religious ceremony took place at Notre Dame, to celebrate the proclamation of the Concordat, at which the





First Consul presided in great pomp, attended by all the ministers and principal general officers then in Paris. An immense crowd filled the cathedral; but the whispering and murmurs evinced little respect on the part of many who were there. The Archbishop of Aix was appointed to preach the sermon, being the very prelate who had presided at the coronation of Louis XVI. It required considerable management to obtain the attendance of some of the republican generals, who were little used to pay any reverence to such pageants. They were invited to breakfast with Berthier; and after attending the First Consul's levee, accompanied him, without understanding where they were going; but, on making the discovery, Lannes and Augereau wished to get out of the carriage, and were only prevented by an especial order. Augereau is said to have remarked that the ceremony was all very fine; and that nothing was wanting "except the million of men who had perished in pulling down what was now being set up."

The second measure mentioned as having passed at this period, was the decree permitting the return of the emigrants, provided they returned and took the oath to the government within a certain period. There were five classes of exceptions to this amnesty. 1. Those who



had been chiefs of bodies of armed royalists. 2. Those who had held rank in the allied armies against France. 3. Those who had belonged to the household of the princes of the blood. 4. Those who had been agents or encouragers of foreign or domestic war. 5. The generals, admirals, and representatives of the people who had been guilty of treason against the republic; together with the prelates who refused the terms of the Concordat. It was declared at the same time that not more than five hundred, in all, should be excluded from the amnesty. It is estimated that a hundred thousand emigrants returned to their country in consequence of the decrees of Napoleon. To those whose property had not been sold it was returned; but the First Consul made no attempt to compromise the revolution, by alienating any of the lands which had become national property. The consequences of all these arrangements will be seen in the sequel. The case of the emigrants was very difficult for legislation. On the one hand, if forced to remain abroad, they formed a large body of enemies in foreign countries, and their exile produced pain and discontent amongst all those related to them in France. On the other hand, they composed, by their return, a numerous party in the country, attached by principle and feeling to the ancient order of things, and most of them irritated against the revolution by the memory of past sufferings and the continually present sense of loss of property and privileges. The same cause of dislike operated with them as with the priests; and discontent too often superseded gratitude.

While these conciliatory measures evinced a strong desire for peace, the preparations for invading England continued unabated. England replied to them by placing Nelson in command of the sea from Orfordness to Beachy Head. Nelson was not satisfied with defensive operations; but, appearing before Boulogne, he bombarded the French fleet, and after destroying some small craft and gun-boats, proceeded to attack the flotilla with the boats of his squadron. The French, however, made a desperate defence; their vessels were moored close to the shore, chained together, and filled with soldiers, and Nelson was obliged to make sail without effecting anything. Meantime a change in the English ministry afforded a prospect of pacific intentions. Mr. Pitt went out of office in the course of the summer, and was succeeded by Mr. Addington, afterwards Lord Sidmouth. No change of political principles was indicated by this measure, but Mr. Pitt had so identified himself with the war, that his very name seemed a bar to its conclusion, and it was not esteemed as possible that a peace could be concluded under his auspices. The "gold of Pitt," and war, were almost synonymous ideas in France. The two nations had now arrived at a relative position, which seemed very like a drawn game; France being as supreme on the continent as

England was unconquerable on the ocean. During the whole period which had intervened since the treaty of Luneville, M. Otto had been kept in England by the French government, ostensibly as agent in behalf of the prisoners of war; but, in conformity with his instructions, he had watched for opportunities of opening a pacific negociation with the English ministry. The battle of Copenhagen, and the death of Paul, seemed to overthrow all the chances of peace, by suddenly elevating the position of English affairs. The conquest of Portugal by France restored the equilibrium. The news of the battle of Alexandria lowered the demands of France. Malta now became the grand point of dispute; England insisting upon retaining it, to which France would not consent. At length, the First Consul resolved to fix the negociations on a new basis, and empowered M. Otto to offer the following conditions, which, after some alterations, were accepted as the foundation of a treaty. England relinquished all her colonial conquests, with the exception of the important islands of Ceylon and Trinidad; thus yielding up, at the conclusion of the war, most of those possessions, upon the acquisition of which, says Sir Walter Scott, "the national force had been frittered away." Malta was also relinquished by England; but it was stipulated that its independence should be secured, and that it should not fall into the hands of France. A neutral power was to garrison the island, and take it under protection. France agreed to restore Egypt to the Porte; but, as it is believed that the First Consul had already received the news of the capitulation of Menou, there was little sacrifice made here. France also recognised the republic of the Ionian islands, and gave up all the ports of Naples and Rome, now occupied by French troops, to their respective governments. Portugal, it was agreed, should be maintained in all its integrity. The people, both of France and England, watched the proceedings with the greatest anxiety. The messengers who carried the despatches were adorned with ribands, and fêtes and illuminations marked their course. The preliminaries were ratified between the two countries on the 10th of October, 1801. The intelligence was communicated to Paris by the firing of cannon, and caused a general rejoicing. General Lauriston carried the ratified treaty from Paris to London, where the populace received him with transports of joy. The horses were taken from his carriage, and he was drawn to his house by the people. The sentiments of the higher classes were much divided. A small party, led by Mr. Wyndham, following the lead of Burke, considered the fact of treating with a regicide government as an indelible act of meanness, and a dereliction from the principles of legitimacy, on which the social compact ought to rest. More moderate Tories conceived that Britain was not bound to sacrifice herself *entirely* for these principles, while they much regretted they had not triumphed. Mr. Pitt belonged to this party. The members of the opposition, who

had all along predicted the bad success of the war, now rejoiced that peace was obtained on any terms. Sheridan very truly characterised the general feeling on the subject, by saying, "it was a peace which all men were glad of, and no man could be proud of." Amiens was appointed as the place of meeting for the commissioners to settle the definitive treaty, which was not finally arranged till five months afterwards. Joseph Bonaparte was appointed to represent his brother.

Mr. Fox visited Paris soon after the treaty of peace. He was received with the greatest enthusiasm wherever he was recognised. He spent much of his time at the Tuileries, on terms of the greatest confidence and intimacy, and inspired Napoleon with feelings of sincere friendship, and the impression was mutual. The following recollections of this great man, in the words of Napoleon, are taken from the "*Memoire de St. Helene*." "Fame had informed me of his talents, and I soon found that he possessed a noble character, a good heart, liberal, generous, and enlightened views. I considered him an ornament to mankind, and was very much attached to him. We often conversed together, upon various topics, without the least prejudice: when I wished to engage in a little controversy, I turned the conversation upon the infernal machine, and told him that his ministers had attempted to murder me. He would then oppose my opinion with warmth, and invariably ended the conversation by saying, in his bad French, 'First Consul, pray take that out of your head.'"

We have now, and henceforward, to consider Napoleon more particularly in his character as a statesman and legislator.

The favourable moment afforded by the cessation of war was devoted by the First Consul, with all the energy of his character, to the organisation of the government of France in every department. "The true glory of Napoleon," says a writer by no means inclined to panegyrise him on all occasions (Baron Pelet de la Lozère), "consists in having rallied round him all the parties in the state; in having organised such a powerful administration, that France, during fifteen years, submitted to the guidance of his powerful hand, as if the whole nation had been but one man; in giving his country a code of civil laws, more perfect than any it had possessed before; and in being laborious, indefatigable, and unceasingly occupied with the affairs of government.

"One of the most laborious periods of the council of state," continues the same author, "was during the consulate. Then were framed the codes, the laws, the decrees, and the regulations which constituted the new administration of the country, and under which we still live (1837). The council of state was divided into various sections or committees: one for the navy, another for the army, for the finances, for public justice, for home affairs, and so on. Each section was composed of



those members who were supposed to be the best versed in the matters to which the drafts of the proposed decrees submitted to their consideration related. The subjects were first discussed before these committees respectively, and afterwards reconsidered by all the committees assembled together. Napoleon, when First Consul, presided sometimes at the meetings of the sections from ten o'clock in the evening till five in the morning; he then took a bath, after which he was soon ready to recommence work. In speaking of this practice, he said, 'One hour in the bath is worth four hours of sleep to me.'

"This restless activity which he exhibited in his own person, he exacted from all those whom he called to his aid. As he complained not unfrequently that the council did not advance rapidly enough with business, it was incumbent upon every one to shew that he was not behindhand with his task. When a report was to be drawn up, it was ordered for next day; or if one of his council was charged with the duty of proposing a law to the legislative body, he had often not a couple of hours to prepare the whole matter, besides getting his speech ready. Such scrimp time was, however, quite enough for Napoleon himself; for he dictated with such rapidity, that there generally remained several pages of matter to be written after he had done speaking; and yet, on the revision, it was rare to discover anything requiring to be altered. Both before and after these meetings of the council of state, Napoleon frequently presided at other councils, where, in concert with other professional men, he regulated the details of each department of the administration; such as that of the public works, the war-office, and so on; his mind passing with wonderful facility from one topic to another.

"The discussions which took place respecting the various decrees proposed for the consideration of the council of state, were invariably preceded by a report explanatory of its objects; and Napoleon always required the decree to be read before the report, asserting that such was the mathematical order of things, which required the enunciation of a proposition before the demonstration. Whoever wished to speak had only to say so; and Napoleon often urged those persons to speak whose opinions he desired to learn. The style of address was simple and without flourish; for the eloquence of the tribunate would have been considered quite ridiculous in the council. A new member, who had gained a certain degree of reputation as a public speaker, wished to set out with the oratorical manner he had found succeed in public assemblies; but he soon discovered that he was only laughed at in the council, and speedily lowered his tone. There was no method in that place of concealing the want of ideas under the profusion of words: what was required was substantial matter, and a mind stored with facts.

Not only was every description of knowledge represented in the council of state, but every different epoch. Napoleon's principle, indeed, in its formation, was not merely to draw into it men possessed of all kinds of information, but persons of all different shades of politics. In this spirit, he called to his assistance not only those men of the revolution who had most distinguished themselves in the preceding assemblies, but he recalled those who, though not hostile to the revolution, had been expatriated by its early political storms, such as Malouet, Mounier, Ségur, and others. In this way, the council exhibited all the different parties of the state, fused, as it were, into one mass."

It is necessary, towards forming a just estimate of Napoleon's actions, and especially those which have relation to the destruction of the political liberty of France, to understand the nature and constitution of the council of state. If the First Consul repressed the expression of popular opinion, it will hence be perceived, on the other hand, that he did not trust to his own judgment in legislating for the people; but that he had organised a body of legislators, composed of men, each the best qualified that could be found, for every department of the business of government.

Among other important measures originated during the short period of the peace of Amiens, may be enumerated the admirable system of communal regulations, extending over the whole of France; the adjustment of the financial department, called the council of liquidation, which continued its labours until 1810, when it had completed its task by clearing off the debts of the revolution; the rural code, for the improvement of agriculture; the institution of chambers of commerce in all the principal cities of the republic, in communication with a central chamber in Paris; and the regulation of national education, beginning at the point at which the national convention had stopped. This all-important department was put under the charge of the celebrated Fourcroy. The schools were divided into three classes:—primary or municipal schools, twenty-three thousand of which were formed; secondary schools, or communal colleges; lyceums, and special schools, supported at the expense of the treasury. The Institute formed the summit of the whole edifice. Three commissions of learned men were sent, in different directions, to travel through France, in order to organise the lyceums. La Place, Monge, and Lacroix, were employed by the government to prepare elementary works on mathematics for the schools; Duménil, Brogniard, Adet, Biot, and Haüy, to compose the works on natural history, mineralogy, chemistry, astronomy, and physics. The college of St. Cyr, a free-school, for the sons of soldiers killed on the field of battle, underwent a new organisation; and the school of Fontainebleau was created at this period. To all these may



be added two naval schools; the one at Toulon, the other at Brest. A further and more complete system of education was put in operation, at a subsequent period, by Napoleon, who was duly impressed with the extreme importance of this part of the duty of a government. "There never can be," he said, "a fixed political state, until there exists a body of men teaching on fixed principles." The establishment of normal schools belongs to the subsequent period, and will be noticed in its place. In addition to these legislative enactments, many great public works were begun at this time. Bridges were constructed, roads and canals made, harbours secured, forests planted, new productions in cultivation imported, the breed of cattle improved. The great roads over Mount Cenis and the Simplon, which now, in their finished state, excite the wonder and admiration of the world, were projected and commenced; and public monuments and buildings began to rise in every part of France.

The institution of the Legion of Honour followed shortly after the Concordat. It was powerfully combated in the council of state, and in the tribunate; a very large minority voting against its adoption in that assembly, as well as in the legislative body. Its purpose was to confer an honorary distinction, accompanied by a pension, upon individuals of distinguished merit, whether civil or military. It consisted of a council of administration, composed of the three consuls, and a member of each of the assemblies. It was divided into fifteen cohorts, every cohort consisting of seven grand officers, twenty commanders, thirty subaltern officers, and three hundred and fifty legionaries. The First Consul was, in right of his office, captain general of the legion and president of the council of administration. The nomination of all the members was for life. The grand officers were endowed with a yearly pension of upwards of two hundred pounds. Pensions, decreasing in amount, were affixed to the subordinate degrees of rank in the order. All the members were required to swear upon their honour to defend the government of France and maintain the inviolability of her empire; to combat, by every lawful means, against the re-establishment of feudal institutions; and to concur in maintaining the principles of liberty and equality. Notwithstanding the wording of this oath, the friends of liberty naturally dreaded, in the establishment of distinctions among the citizens of France, a return to the ancient system of castes. They conceived of the Legion of Honour as containing within itself all the elements on which hereditary nobility has been founded in all ages; as being likely to revive prejudices, received in all the other nations of Europe, and only half-extinguished in France; and as being contrary to the spirit of the republic and the letter of the constitution. The First Consul defended it, on the ground that it was a project designed to



give consistency to the system of rewards already in operation in the army, and to extend that system to civil services. "I know, well enough," he said, "that if we place ourselves in the skull-cap that encloses the ten years of the revolution, we shall, in that circumscribed point of view, find that the plan is good for nothing: but if we place ourselves after the revolution, and admit the actual necessity we are under of organising the nation, we shall think differently. All has been overturned; we want at present to build up again. There is a government with certain powers; as to all the rest of the nation, what is it but loose grains of sand? We have, in the midst of us, the remains of the old privileged classes, connected by principles and interests, and knowing well what it is they want. I can count our enemies: but, as to ourselves, we are scattered—without system, without union, without contact. As long as I remain, I can answer for the republic; but we must provide for the future. Do you suppose we can reckon upon the people? The French character has not been changed by ten years of revolutions; they are still what their ancestors, the Gauls, were—vain and light. They are susceptible but of one sentiment, *honour*; it is right, then, to afford nourishment to this sentiment, and to allow of distinctions. Berthier talks of the Romans having no system of honorary rewards: the Romans had patricians, knights, and slaves; for each class, different dresses and different manners; honorary recompenses for every species of merit—mural crowns, civic crowns, ovations, triumphs, titles. When the patricians lost their influence, Rome fell to pieces. The people were rabble. It was then that you saw the fury of Marius, the proscriptions of Scylla, and afterwards of the emperors. In like manner Brutus is talked of as the enemy of tyrants: he was an aristocrat, who stabbed Cæsar, because Cæsar wished to lower the authority of the noble senate. You call these ribbons and crosses *children's rattles*: be it so! It is with children's rattles that men are led. I would not say that to a tribune; but, in a council of wise men and statesmen, one ought to speak out. Observe how the people bow before the decorations of foreigners. Voltaire calls the private soldiers '*Alexanders, at five sous a day*.' He was right: it is just so. Do you imagine that you can make men fight by reasoning? Never. You must bribe them with glory, distinctions, rewards. To come to the point: during ten years there has been a talk of institutions. Where are they? All has been overturned: our business is to build up. Do you suppose that the republic is definitively established? It would be a gross mistake. We have it in our power to achieve this object; but we have not yet done it, nor shall we ever succeed in it, if we do not, as a foundation, cast some blocks of granite on the restless soil of France. In fine, it is agreed that we have need of some kind of insti-

tutions: if this is not approved of, let some other be proposed. I do not pretend that it alone will save the state, but it will do its part." These arguments, selected from the First Consul's speeches in the council of state, are illustrative, in a remarkable degree, of his system of policy on all occasions. The expediency may have been profound, but the metaphor of the "blocks of granite," is fallacious.

The order of the Legion of Honour was given without any distinction of ranks, and Napoleon wished to have placed the institution on a much broader and more liberal scale than he was permitted to do by the spirit of the time. He has left the following expression of his feelings on the subject, in the "Memoire de St. Helene:"—"Had it been approved by public opinion, Napoleon would have given the cross of the Legion of Honour to Talma, Elleviou, and other celebrated actors and public performers; he refrained from doing so out of consideration for the weakness and prejudices of the age, and he was wrong. The Legion of Honour was the reversion of every one who was an honour to his country, stood at the head of his profession, and contributed to the national prosperity and glory. If ever it cease to be the recompense of the lowest class of the military, and a medal be instituted, through aristocratical feelings, to reward the mere soldier; or, if ever the civil order be deprived of it, it will cease to be the Legion of Honour."

The negotiations at Amiens at length came to a close; and the treaty of peace between England and France was signed on the 25th of March, 1802. The island of Malta was, by the conditions of the treaty, to be garrisoned by Neapolitan troops, and all the great powers of Europe guaranteed its neutrality; the knights of St. John being once more nominated as its sovereigns. The English government refused to recognise the Italian republics, and the new kingdom of Etruria; but the French plenipotentiaries did not insist upon this condition, and it was omitted in the articles. France was now at peace with all Europe, and the position and prospects of the country were brilliant beyond those of any period since the revolution. By the peace of Amiens, Napoleon had achieved the important, and once seemingly impracticable, measure, of bringing England to acknowledge the French republic as a nation. The English crowded to Paris after the peace, full of curiosity, after so many years of exclusion, to see a capital which had been the scene of unnumbered events in the interval; and to catch a glimpse of the extraordinary man who had raised himself to a height from which he could arbitrate and control the affairs of all Europe.

The enthusiasm of the French people for their successful chief was excited in a degree corresponding to the glory with which he had surrounded them. During the summer of 1802, the question of extending the term of his consulate was agitated. The senate, in conformity with

the popular wish, and doubtless with the concurrence of Napoleon, decreed an extension of ten years to his continuance in office. The First Consul accepted the offered prolongation from the senate, on condition that the opinion of the people should be consulted on the subject. The question put to the people was more complete. Cambacérès and Lebrun framed the matter for decision in the following words:—"Napoleon Bonaparte—shall he be Consul for life?" Registers were opened in all the municipalities; and the answer of the people qualified to vote was decisive. Upwards of three million, five hundred thousand, voted for the proposal; eight thousand, three hundred, against it. The name of Carnot was among the dissentients; and La Fayette made his vote dependent on a declaration from the First Consul, that political liberty, and the liberty of the press should be granted to the nation. As Napoleon did not answer to this requisition, La Fayette was also in the list of opponents. In the month of August, 1802, Napoleon was declared Consul for life. A decree of the senate immediately afterwards consolidated his power, by permitting him to appoint his successor.







## CHAPTER XXI.

EXPEDITION TO ST. DOMINGO—HISTORY OF THE ISLAND—TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE—CONQUEST OF THE NEGROES BY THE FRENCH—THE YELLOW FEVER ATTACKS THE FRENCH ARMY—SUSPICIOUS MOVEMENTS AMONG THE NEGROES—TOUSSAINT SEIZED AND SENT TO FRANCE—REVOLT—DEATH OF GENERAL LECLERC—BARBARITIES OF ROCHAMBEAU—DEATH OF TOUSSAINT—THE FRENCH FLEET AND ARMY OF ST. DOMINGO SURRENDER TO ENGLAND.



WAR had ceased, for a period, to torture humanity in the ancient world; but a ferocious and sanguinary conflict now raged in another hemisphere. Napoleon was the sole aggressor in this fresh struggle; which, begun in proud contempt of justice, carried on with cruelty and treachery, and ending in signal defeat, has left one of the darkest stains upon his memory. No sooner did the suspension of hostilities clear the ocean of the English ships, than a French and Spanish squadron bearing a power-

ful French army, left the harbour of Brest, bound for St. Domingo, with orders to reduce that island once more to the condition of a colony of France.

According to the terms of the treaty of Luneville, the French nation was about to resume possession of the greater part of its colonies which had been seized by England. But St. Domingo did not belong to

England; the negroes, once the slaves, were now the masters in that beautiful island. 'Why, whilst proud England was renouncing the other islands, should a set of miserable blacks be suffered to retain possession of the richest among them all? Why, whilst the landholders of other colonies were on the point of quietly resuming their property, and once more enjoying their rich revenues, must the planters of St. Domingo alone put up with their losses? A multitude of families had been utterly ruined by those losses. Why should their rich island, alone free, in the midst of slavery, be left exposed to the possible alliance of England; or (which was more likely) to invasion by England, which might naturally fear that the contagion of liberty would spread from the free shores of St. Domingo to others in those regions, and so seize upon and enslave the dangerous community? France would thus not only lose its chief colony, but actually see it fall into the power of England.' These were the reasonings by which Napoleon suffered his better feelings to be smothered; but he hesitated for some time. "He was upwards of a month," says Savary, "engaged in collecting information respecting that island, from all those who had resided in the Antilles. The profession of the party was of little consequence to him; he desired that all those who could throw some light on the subject, should be sent to him at Malmaison. I have known him to be closeted for hours with inferior clerks in the marine department, who had been pointed out to him as possessed of positive information respecting St. Domingo." It was jealousy of England which at length turned the scale. "Alas!" says Hazlitt, "the way to outstrip us, would have been in the race of generosity and magnanimity, and not by trying to be foremost in that of selfish policy or unfeeling cruelty!"

In order to understand the peculiarity and difficulty of the case, it is necessary to take a review of the past history of the island which had then become a subject of hostility. St. Domingo, or Hispaniola, originally called Hayti (which name it has now resumed) when first discovered by Columbus, was chiefly peopled by a gentle and timid race of red Indians. These original inhabitants were nearly exterminated by the Spanish adventurers who swarmed to those newly found regions in search of gold. The poor Indians, unused to toil in their rich and lovely island, which almost spontaneously supplied all their wants, perished from the face of the earth under the ruthless hands of their civilised tormentors. The African negroes, a hardier race, were next imported, as slaves, to do the work of the European lords of the soil.

At the period of the French Revolution, St. Domingo belonged by right of conquest partly to Spain and partly to France. It was peopled by whites, who possessed all the power; by mulattoes, who were free, but considered as an inferior race; and by negro slaves. The numbers



of whites and mulattoes were about equal; but both races put together were outnumbered as eight to one by the negroes. When news of the revolution in the mother country reached the French portion of the island, the mulattoes demanded social equality. This being refused by the whites, a dreadful civil war commenced, in which the mulattoes were put down; but before the conquerors had time for self-gratulation, they were astounded by a general insurrection of their slaves. The proprietors of the Spanish part of the island, being royalists and supported by English troops, fomented the revolt against the French proprietors, who, it must be remembered, now belonged to a revolutionary government.

At this period, there was numbered among the slaves of an estate called Breda, one named Toussaint, about forty years of age. He had originally tended cattle, but had been raised from this employment to be coachman to the bailiff. He had by some means learned to read and write, and was chiefly remarkable for extreme thoughtfulness and a religious tendency. He quickly joined the black general, Jean François, and soon rose to be aide-de-camp and colonel. In this war of the long-oppressed against their oppressors, horrors were abundantly perpetrated, the whole island becoming a scene of conflagration and slaughter. Toussaint, however, obtained the influence which he soon began to exercise, rather by the natural vigour of his mind than by violence. On the 4th of February, 1794, the National Convention of France decreed the liberty of all slaves, and declared St. Domingo an integral part of France. Toussaint instantly decided on his mode of action. He marched from his Spanish quarters to join the French republican commander, who made him general of brigade. The Spanish posts fell one after another under the victorious attacks of Toussaint. The French commissioners said, "This man makes an opening (*l'ouverture*) everywhere." From this saying, he acquired his name of Toussaint L'Ouverture. The war soon ended. The Spanish planters laid down their arms, and the blacks were free. Toussaint saved the French general from an insurrection of the mulattoes, and was appointed Lieutenant of St. Domingo. The English and mulattoes were still his enemies; but the former abandoned the island in 1798, tired of a war in which the diseases of the climate had destroyed vast numbers of their troops. The English commander, accompanied only by three attendants, previously held a conference with Toussaint in the midst of his armed blacks, so great was the confidence he had deservedly inspired; and a treaty was concluded between them. Toussaint next conquered the mulattoes; and then admitted them to a treaty of peace and equal rights. He was now absolute ruler of the island, to the internal improvement of which he began to devote himself. He sent his two sons to be educated in France, writing to the Directory in these terms:—"I guarantee, under my personal responsibility, the



submission of my black brethren to order, and their fidelity to France." His administration was vigorous, and as watchful as might be expected from a man who had been a slave, and was raised to rule over a nation lately slaves. He is said to have never permitted the same secretary to commence and conclude a dispatch; after dictating a certain portion, he always sent away the person he had employed, to wait his orders at some sixty or a hundred miles distance. The secretaries were also uniformly forbidden, under pain of death, to divulge what he had dictated; while numerous spies enabled him to detect disobedience.



Being now undisputed master, Toussaint adopted the wise policy of encouraging both the whites and mulattoes to remain in the island, by carefully protecting them in person and property. The blacks, now free labourers, continued to cultivate the plantations; but the produce was divided, in certain proportions, between the proprietor and the cultivators. Order and industry quickly took the place of anarchy and licentiousness. The waste lands were soon in full cultivation, and abundance and confidence were restored. Toussaint maintained the laws, which he had established, with the most unrelenting rigour. Sir Walter Scott relates

a terrible proof of this, on the authority of an eye-witness. "On one occasion, a white female, the owner of a plantation, had been murdered by the negroes by whom it was laboured, and who had formerly been her slaves. Toussaint marched to the spot, at the head of a party of his horse guards, collected the negroes belonging to the plantation, and surrounded them with his black cavalry, who, after a very brief enquiry, received orders to charge and cut them to pieces; of which order our informant witnessed the execution."

When Napoleon became First Consul, in 1799, he confirmed Toussaint in his dictatorship. At the same period Spain ceded her portion of St. Domingo to France, by the treaty of Bâle. This cession was enforced by Toussaint, whose power by this time extended over the whole island. The negro dictator now gave a constitution to his subjects, on the model of the consular government of France; causing himself to be proclaimed governor for life, with power to name his successor. He immediately sent Colonel Vincent, an engineer officer, to France, to obtain the approbation of the First Consul for this new measure; but he did not wait for a reply before he put all the machinery of his government in operation. It worked admirably well; commerce and trade revived, and the treasury filled. Toussaint kept a splendid court, and preserved the greatest order and decorum. He was also indefatigable in business, and is said to have been able to ride a hundred and fifty miles without rest, and resume active exertions after only two hours' sleep.

Colonel Vincent, who had been the friend and adviser of Toussaint, actively exerted himself at Paris in his behalf; but, as we have seen, other counsels unfortunately prevailed. Napoleon resolved, after considerable deliberation, to reduce the island to a condition resembling that of the other West India colonies; Colonel Vincent continuing to the last strongly to reprobate the attempt, and to point out its difficulties.

There is on record a portion of one of Napoleon's speeches in the council of state, on the subject of negro slavery, which throws the clearest light on this and other of his actions, by disclosing their secret springs in his peculiar order of mind and character:—"I am for the whites, because I am white; I have no other reason, yet that is reason good enough. How was it possible to grant liberty to the Africans, to men without any kind of civilisation, who did not even know what a colony meant, or that there was such a place as France? It is quite evident that those who proposed the emancipation of the blacks must wish for the slavery of the whites. But, after all, do you suppose that, if the majority of the Convention had seen what they were doing, and been acquainted with the colonies, they would have persisted in granting freedom to the negroes? Doubtless not. But few persons were in a situation to foresee the consequences at the time, and



a sentiment of humanity always appeals powerfully to the imagination. But, at present, for any one to persist in these principles, is to shew a want of good faith; it is mere pride and hypocrisy. Without going so far, would you have consented, would we have suffered, that the French should have been brought in subjection to the Italians,—to the Piedmontese? We might have been well treated; they might have made of us what the free blacks have made of the whites. We have been obliged, on the contrary, to take strong measures of precaution, and to keep them in a state of dependence; and even had it been necessary to let all Italy perish, or sacrifice two soldiers in my army, I would have let all Italy perish; because, before all things, I am of my army and for my army. To this day, even, it is necessary to have an eye on that country; nevertheless, they are whites like us, a civilised people, and our neighbours."

"Perhaps," says Hazlitt, in commenting on the above, in language, the manly eloquence and vigour of which is only surpassed by its profound insight, that pierces and lays bare the heart of things; "Perhaps, there is not anywhere on record, and particularly coming out of the person's own mouth, a passage which paints so powerfully, with such nakedness and force, not merely the character, but the inmost soul and extremity of purpose in an individual, as the one just given. It would be as much in vain to reason with a man whose mind is devoured and burnt up with this unquenchable zeal of partisanship, as to insist that a person is not to writhe with pain who has a living coal of fire applied to his breast. We see a soul of fire without water or clay, that nothing could tame, could soften, or deter. It is not a question of degree, but a total separation in principle, and an antipathy in nature to the ordinary and cherished weaknesses of human nature; so that no extreme case or disproportion in the objects could make any difference on a mind that had a capacity but for one class and modification of feeling. In this one passage, he has given a clue (radiant with light) to all his actions, to all his greatness and his littleness, his elevation and his fall, without resorting to studied policy, to accident, or the advice of friends. Bonaparte need not talk of Arabs or uncivilised nations; he is himself one of them. No wild Indian could brood over in his hut, or make a triumphant boast at the stake, of a more utter abnegation of all the mawkishness of general benevolence; nor snap with less ceremony or firmer nerves all the ties but those which bind him to his tribe, and link him in a chain of sordid interest with others with whom he is knit in a common cause, and who are ready to stand by him in like manner. No son of the desert, whose feelings have been burnt into him by a scorching sun, who is hardened against compunction by the extremity of want, who recognises only in the stranger, or in his fellow-man, a deadly foe whose existence is at war with his own, and that of all belonging to him, could express a more



determined disbelief in, and contempt for, all the decencies, charities, and professed courtesies of general philanthropy, as mere names and shadows. The tendency of civilisation and intellectual intercourse has been to extend the circle of sympathy with the circle of knowledge, to burst the barriers of tribe, nation, and colour, and to extort the confession that wherever there was a kindred feeling, there was a claim to pity, to justice, and humanity."

Such are the powerful remarks of Hazlitt, on the sympathies of Napoleon. Heavily indeed must they weigh, coming as they do from that writer. Hazlitt always avowed and openly defended his passionate admiration of Napoleon; but he had too deep a feeling for mankind, to mistake a part for the whole; or to suffer any blaze of glory to make him blind to its crimes against liberty and the human race.

It is not to be expected that Napoleon should ever see his conduct on this occasion in its true light. The "soul of fire, without water or clay," remained to the last. He did however perceive, by the event, that he had made a mistake, and confessed it, when at St. Helena, with some marks of regret. "I have to reproach myself," he said to Las Casas, "with the attempt made upon St. Domingo during the Consulate. The design of reducing it by force was a great error. I ought to have been satisfied with governing it through the medium of Toussaint." This was all very well as an admission of the understanding; but he does not appear to have felt the least remorse, or even to have been aware that anybody could have thought the circumstance claimed such a feeling.

The troops destined for the expedition were chiefly taken from the army of the Rhine, and were therefore classed among the finest soldiers of France. They amounted to about twenty thousand men. General Leclerc, the husband of Pauline Bonaparte, was appointed to the command, and named Captain-General of St. Domingo. Pauline was unwillingly forced to accompany him by the command of the First Consul, who took this mode of trying to overcome the general prejudice against the dangers of the climate. The fleet which conveyed the armament set sail on the 14th of December, 1801, and reached Cape François, in St. Domingo, on the 29th of January, 1802; their progress having been jealously watched the whole way by an English squadron of observation.

Toussaint, who had been warned of this hostile approach, had already ordered every post, which it was possible to maintain, to be defended to the last, and all others to be burnt. The French signals for surrender were unanswered; and a cutter, carrying a letter for Toussaint, from the First Consul, appointing him lieutenant to the captain-general, was fired upon with red-hot shot. Leclerc next attempted to seduce from his allegiance Christophe, commander at Cape François (since King of Hayti), but met with a positive refusal to all his offers. In default of a

pilot to guide them through the dangerous rocks and shoals which surround St. Domingo, the French seized a mulatto officer, the captain commanding the port, and tried by every means to make him direct the course, but in vain. They offered him upwards of two thousand pounds; they drew a cord round his neck; still he resolutely refused. This circumstance affords a proof of the extraordinary ascendancy of Toussaint over his people. The French army succeeded in effecting a landing to the westward of Cape François. Christophe instantly fired the town and fort, which were consumed, together with all the magazines and stores. The whole island now became a scene of carnage and conflagration. The First Consul had sent back with the expedition the two sons of Toussaint, with the principal of the college in which they had been educated. They were now despatched by Leclerc with the letter before mentioned to their father. He embraced his children, and sent them back with a request for four days' delay; but when they went again for his answer, they returned no more to the French. The war therefore continued; but the troops of Toussaint were unable to resist the high discipline and courage of the French. Dessalines, one of Toussaint's generals, became notorious for his cruelty in this ferocious struggle. He was at last shut up in the fort of Crête à Pierrot, which was taken by the French after a long siege; but Dessalines and many of his men desperately cut their way through the French ranks, and escaped. One post after another was taken, and one chief after another submitted, till at length Toussaint himself could hold out no longer. He repaired to head-quarters with his staff, and company of Guides, a fine body of black troops, who remained faithful to him to the last, and tendered his submission. He replied by denials or by silence to all the reproaches of Leclerc on his "revolt," and proudly refused the rank of general in the French army, which was offered him; but requested to be permitted to retire to one of his estates in the interior, which was granted under certain restrictions.

The island was now subdued, and every part of it wore the appearance of calm; little more than a fortnight having been occupied in the contest. Leclerc was afraid to attempt the re-establishment of slavery, and continued the same regulations, as to labour, which had been arranged by Toussaint. He at the same time suffered himself to believe in the apparent acquiescence of the black chiefs to his government, and in consequence neglected to follow the secret instructions of Napoleon, by which he was desired to send them all over to France as soon as possible, and to cultivate the friendship of the mulattoes. He did exactly the reverse. The result was soon apparent.

As the hot season approached, bringing with it that fatal scourge of Europeans, the yellow fever, a change was observed in the manners of the blacks. Toussaint had been heard to say, "I trust to *Providence*:"



TAKING OF LA CRÈTE-À-PIERROT.



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the great hospital of Cape François bore this title. Parties of negroes, who acquired the name of Maroons, began to collect in bands on the heights, whence they watched the movements of the French.

As the season advanced, and the fever began rapidly to thin the ranks of the French army, these alarming symptoms increased. Desertions from the black regiments, many of which had been formed by General Leclerc, became of daily occurrence. The mountains had become depôts of arms and provisions, and multitudes of negroes lay there concealed. Toussaint was of course an object of suspicion to the French at this crisis. He was ordered by Leclerc to go in person and allay the ferment among his countrymen; but, instead of complying, he armed the negro cultivators of his own estate, in order, as he said, to provide for his safety. Napoleon has affirmed that positive proofs of his correspondence with the insurgents were found. Be that as it may, he was seized, by order of Leclerc, carried on board a French ship, and sent from his native island for ever. The excitement among the negroes, so far from being quieted, was increased tenfold by the sudden disappearance of their famous chief. The standard of revolt was now openly raised, and Christophe, Dessalines, and all the principal leaders of the blacks, placed themselves at their head. The negro population was computed at four hundred

thousand; the French army was reduced by war and disease to eight thousand. As the season advanced, the ravages of the pestilence seemed to increase. New detachments sent out from France were mown down, and reduced to mere skeletons. As a last misfortune, General Leclerc himself was smitten by the infection, and died on the 1st of November.



General Rochambeau, who succeeded to the command, adopted from the first a line of policy infinitely more harsh and severe than that of his predecessor. But he soon committed acts of the deepest atrocity. He was surrounded by a crowd of proprietors of different estates, who were exasperated at the destruction of their wealth, and who, it is affirmed, had conceived the monstrous idea of exterminating the whole black population. Led away by such fiend-like counsels, Rochambeau carried on a wholesale system of murder. Hordes of unfortunate negroes were seized, carried off to sea, and drowned in the darkness of night. Blood-hounds were used to hunt those who fled into the woods; and the poor wretches, driven from their shelter, were shot down without pity. But here the French soldiers checked the barbarity of their commanders. They mutinied, and declared they would not accept packs of hounds for auxiliaries;



and that if such savage scenes were renewed, they would inflict summary vengeance on the actors of them. The negroes, in their turn, tortured and murdered all the whites who were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands. In this manner, the whole winter passed in that devoted island. Private letters, giving accounts of these horrors, began to startle the inhabitants of Paris. Napoleon refused to give credit to them; but he ought to have known that no excesses were too great to be believed of an army placed in such circumstances. "He wondered," says Savary, "at not receiving reports from those whose duty it was to make them; and often repeated, in the deepest distress of mind, that if those atrocious executions were true, he discarded the colony for ever; that he never would have directed its occupation could he have foreseen the guilty excesses which had arisen out of the expedition." Napoleon was, however, at that very moment, perpetrating an act as atrocious, in its way, as any of those he condemned. About the period that he was triumphantly invested with the title of consul for life, the noble-minded Toussaint L'Ouverture was brought a prisoner into France. He was committed first to the Temple, and then to the fortress of Joux, near Besançon, in Normandy. In a damp dungeon of this northern climate did Napoleon suffer a man, of whose fellowship he might have been proud, to linger out the whole



winter of 1802 and '3. Toussaint died about ten months after the date of his imprisonment. Dark rumours of treachery and poison were afloat concerning the means of his death; but of such aids there was no need. Cold, dampness, inaction, and mental suffering, were quite sufficient to extinguish the life of a man, the native of a tropical climate, whose bodily and mental energies had been for long years indefatigably employed, and who had seen the work of his life apparently dashed into ruins.

The oppressor and the oppressed now sleep in the grave. In their fate there was a wonderful similarity; and, looking at the results of the actions of each, we may say with truth, that "his works survive him:" more directly, however, in the case of Toussaint than of Napoleon, since the liberty which the former achieved for his people has never been interrupted, and his native island remains among the nations an integral state, entire as he had organised and established it. Between the fates of these two men of high and commanding energies, there is one point of marked difference among so many of wonderful similarity. With the ardent lovers of liberty, it has been customary to reckon Napoleon a despot, and to erect Toussaint into a martyr to freedom; the only difference between their policy having been, that while Toussaint closely followed, imitated, and resembled Napoleon in his mode of government, he was necessarily more absolute and more fiercely rigorous than his model, in conformity with his own character and that of the people over whom he ruled.

We must forestal the order of time, to detail the termination of the French possession of St. Domingo. When, in the spring of 1803, the short-lived peace of Amiens came to an end, a British squadron immediately appeared before Cape François, and besieged the remains of the French army contained within the walls of the town. Rochambeau surrendered at discretion; and the English carried off the French fleet, the miserable remnant of their fine army, and all the white inhabitants of the island, which was now entirely left to the negroes. General Noailles, however, commandant of the Mole St. Nicholas, contrived to elude the English ships, and with his whole garrison and seven vessels escaped into a port in the Island of Cuba. Attempting after this to reach Havanna on board an armed brig, he encountered an English corvette, which he took, after a desperate fight, and carried under French colours into Havanna; where, however, he only arrived in time to die of his wounds. "The national glory," says Norvins, "hastened to gather up the last exploit, which escaped from the great shipwreck of one of the bravest armies that the republic ever assembled under her flag." It would be well for the national glory, if all memory of that unfortunate army could be buried in the grave with those who composed it, and him who sent it on its ill-fated errand.



## CHAPTER XXII.

HOSTILE ATTITUDE OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND—ENGLAND RETAINS MALTA—AFFAIRS OF ITALY, GERMANY, AND SWITZERLAND—SPLENDOR OF PARIS, AND INCREASING STATE ASSUMED BY THE FIRST CONSUL—THE WARS OF THE NEWSPAPERS—MESSAGE TO THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT—NAPOLEON AND LORD WHITWORTH—ENGLAND BEGINS HOSTILITIES—NAPOLEON IMPRISONS ALL THE ENGLISH RESIDENTS IN FRANCE—SEIZES HANOVER—OCCUPIES NAPLES—FORTIFIES TUSCANY AND ELBA—ARMY OF ENGLAND—GREAT PREPARATIONS IN ENGLAND AGAINST INVASION.



TOWARDS the close of the year 1802, it became evident that the Peace of Amiens was based on hollow foundations, and was destined, at no distant period to be overthrown. The joy with which the people of England and France had welcomed the news that the war had ceased, was now fast changing into mutual distrust; and open recrimination soon followed.

England had tardily given up possession of the Cape, and the other Batavian settlements, and continued to retain Malta, in direct violation of the treaty. The French government expostulated in vain; and the excuses and procrastination of the English



administration were finally superseded by an avowed determination not to relinquish that island.

The English government justified this breach of faith on the grounds, that although the First Consul had kept his part of the treaty to the letter, he was pursuing a system of ambition and aggrandisement which violated it in the spirit, and threatened altogether to overturn the balance of Europe; that England had, therefore, a higher duty to perform than simply to keep its engagements; for that, as guardian of the liberty of Europe from military despotism, it was incumbent upon England to retain possession of so important a strong-hold as Malta, until the head of the French government should manifest a greater degree of moderation.

The alarms of the English ministry on the subject of French aggrandisement, were not without foundation. The First Consul, aided, doubtless, by the talents of Talleyrand, had turned the conclusion of the war to the best advantage, by a series of successful negotiations. The first of these related to Italy. Very shortly after the peace, the Italian republics had adopted a consular form of government, after the French model, in accordance with the expressed wish of the First Consul, who would have gone to Italy in person, to preside over the formation of the new constitution, had he not been prevented by the urgency of affairs in France. He, however, met, at Lyons, a large assembly of deputies from the Italian cities and departments, and attended their deliberations. He was offered, by unanimous consent, the presidency of their republic, and he accepted the dignity, at the same time appointing Melzi vice-president. The choice gave great satisfaction. The name of Melzi will be remembered as one of the two Italians, to whom alone Napoleon accorded the name of "men," after his first Italian campaign. The direct influence thus acquired in Italy, by the First Consul, and the alteration of the name Cisalpine, into Italian republic (which suggested a latent intention to comprehend the whole peninsula, at some future period, in one state), gave great cause of jealousy to the English government. The refusal of England to acknowledge the new Italian states afforded him a ready pretext to establish his influence over them under the character of protector. By a secret treaty with Portugal, he acquired the province of Guiana; and by another with Spain, all the Spanish part of Louisiana; and in Europe, the reversion of the duchy of Parma, and the Island of Elba. The treaty of Luneville had secured, it will be remembered, the recognition of the Rhine as the boundary of the French territory, on the side of Germany. In the Diet for settling the indemnities to be granted to the various princes of the German empire, who had sustained loss in consequence, the influence of France predominated to such an extent, as almost to threaten the entire destruction of the German confederation. Prussia, as well as those among the smaller princes

of the empire who had observed a neutrality during the war, received ample compensation; while the pertinacious opposition of Austria, caused a very limited consideration of any claims she could bring forward. To these advantages gained for France, as the results of successful diplomacy, was added an armed interference with the affairs of Switzerland, which gave the First Consul a complete ascendancy over the affairs of that country, and did him more injury in the opinions of the liberal party all over Europe, than any other act of his political life. The treaty of Luneville had guaranteed the independence of the Helvetic republic, as Switzerland was then called, and its right to settle its own constitution. The form of its government was, at that period, analogous to the directorial government of France; and a French army occupied the country. A constitution resembling the consular model was soon established, and Napoleon withdrew the French troops, leaving the Swiss entirely to themselves. It quickly appeared that the majority of the people regretted their ancient federal constitution. The inhabitants of the formerly aristocratic cantons were indeed well satisfied with the change they had made, having very much improved their condition by accepting the French form of government; but it was altogether different with the democratic mountain cantons. Their ancient laws had been suited to the characters and habits of their people, who now rose in arms to restore them, headed by Aloys Reding, a man renowned among his countrymen for courage and wisdom. A civil war burst forth, but it was checked at the very outset by the entrance at all points of a French army under Ney, and a manifesto from the First Consul, to the effect that he had taken upon himself the mediation of their differences. Aloys Reding was imprisoned, having first disbanded his troops, who were utterly unable to contend with the overwhelming French force, now in the country.

Switzerland was immediately settled into a republic, on the French consular model, and the title of Grand Mediator of the Helvetic Republic, was assumed by Napoleon. No resistance was attempted, and no bloodshed perpetrated. The cantons agreed to refuse all passage through the country to the enemies of France, and to maintain an army of a few thousand men, as a guarantee of the agreement. They also furnished an army of sixteen thousand men to France, to be maintained at the expense of the French government. It was clear that Switzerland had now become, no less than the whole of Lombardy and Piedmont, a dependency of France.

The increasing dominion of Napoleon in the continent of Europe, was accompanied by a corresponding assumption of dignity and state, on his part, in the conduct of the government, which did not fail to attract the observation of the English, who thronged Paris during the winter of

1802. The First Consul now occupied St. Cloud, in addition to the Tuileries; Malmaison remaining as his peaceful retreat from the cares of government, but being too small for his increasing habits of splendour. Something like the manners of a court, the external forms, habits, and etiquette of sovereignty, were now perceptible in his household. His acute mind soon perceived the influence of these worthless externals over the mass of mankind; and, according to his constant plan, he made use of the means he despised, instead of aiming at the creation of higher public feeling and character. "Men," said he, "well deserve the contempt with which they inspire me. I have only to put some gold lace on the coats of my virtuous republicans, and they immediately become just what I wish them." The Parisians flocked to the brilliant reviews at the Carousel; and saw, with admiration, the rich liveries and emblazoned carriages of the English and Russians. Luxury was rapidly advancing among all the wealthy inhabitants; the theatres were crowded; splendid fêtes were frequent; the republican appellations of Citoyen and Citoyenne, were giving place to Monsieur and Madame. The gallery of the Louvre, enriched with the choicest works of art in the whole world, was open to every one without reserve. An air of prosperity was everywhere visible; the public funds, which had been doubled in value at the 18th Brumaire, were now worth more than triple what they had been, even at that period. Napoleon delighted in observing the prosperity, of which it was his glory to consider himself the author, and the *sole* author. He did not shrink from responsibility, or in the least degree shield himself under the name of any of his ministers. All the acts of the government were simply signed by M. Maret, secretary of state; the First Consul of France was, in fact, an absolute sovereign, and may be thus considered from this period of his history. The public tranquillity was so completely assured, that the ministry of police was now discontinued; and Fouché received the dignity of a senator. The change was, however, bitterly deprecated by the ex-minister himself, and he did not fail to foretel extensive evils as likely to arise from it, and to take every opportunity of instilling suspicions into the mind of his master.

While the steady increase of Napoleon's power and influence inspired his enemies with jealousy and distrust, there was one person whom his rapid approaches to sovereignty had always filled with the most bitter dread. Josephine rightly associated his assumption of the crown, with his probable wish for lineal descendants, and nervously listened to every report of his intentions, expecting a divorce from him as the consequence of the realisation of her fears. Bourrienne relates many conversations with her on this subject, and some scenes to which he was a witness, which shew how continually it was in her mind. "One day," says he,



"I remember that Josephine entered our cabinet without being announced, approached Napoleon softly, seated herself on his knee, passed her hand gently through his hair and over his face; and, thinking the moment favourable, said to him, with a burst of tenderness, 'I entreat of you, Bonaparte, do not make yourself a king! It is that Lucien who urges you to it. Do not listen to him.' Napoleon replied without anger, and even smiling, as he pronounced the last words: 'You are mad, my poor Josephine; it is your old dowagers of the Faubourg Saint-Germain, your Rochefoucaulds, who tell you all these fables! Come, now, you interrupt me—leave me alone.'" It was probably to endeavour to gain a friend among the brothers of Napoleon, that Josephine forced her daughter Hortense into an unwilling marriage with Louis Bonaparte. It took place in January, 1803. "The bride and bridegroom," says Constant, "were exceedingly dull, and Mademoiselle Hortense wept during the whole of the ceremony. Josephine, knowing that this union, which commenced so inauspiciously, was her own work, anxiously endeavoured to establish a more cordial feeling between her daughter and son-in-law. But all her efforts were vain, and the marriage proved a very unhappy one." Hortense was much attached to Duroc, and Napoleon wished her to marry him. Odious calumnies were at one time current, respecting Napoleon and Hortense, but they have been so frequently and so completely refuted, that we are spared the necessity of entering on the subject.

We find from Bourrienne, that Napoleon expressed a singular presentiment at this period, which was completely realised subsequently. "He frequently used to say, at this time, 'I fear that when I am forty, I shall become a great eater: I have a foreboding that I shall grow very corpulent.' This fear of obesity," continues Bourrienne, "though it annoyed him very much, did not appear to have the least foundation, judging from his habitual temperance, and spare habit of body." It was now, too, that he felt the first approaches of the disease which ultimately destroyed his life. He was frequently attacked with severe pains in his right side. He consulted Corvisart, who was afterwards appointed his first physician, and appeared to derive great benefit from his prescriptions.

The mutual grievances of which the English and French complained, increased as the year 1802 drew towards a close. It appears to have been the wish of the First Consul to negotiate a commercial treaty with the English government; and being unsuccessful, he suffered various petty and vexatious regulations to be enforced against British merchant vessels, perhaps with a view to forward a treaty, but the actual operation of which irritated the English public. He was virulently attacked by the English press; and a paper called "*L'Ambigu*," edited by

Peltier, a French emigrant, was published in London, the express purpose of which was to ridicule the First Consul and his government. It was the constant habit of Napoleon to read all the English newspapers, and he was exasperated at their attacks. Counter-accusations—occasionally, it is said, from his own pen—continually appeared in "The Moniteur;" and this paper war greatly increased the bad feeling which had already spread among the people of both countries. At length, the First Consul made a formal complaint to the English government, demanding their interference to put a stop to the abuse published by the press; requiring that the princes of the House of Bourbon, and the whole class of emigrants, exempted by him from the general amnesty, and now resident in England, should be ordered to leave that country, on the ground that he had cause to suspect them of hatching plots against his life and government; and that Georges Cadoudal should be transported to Canada. A reply in the negative was returned to these requisitions, by Lord Hawkesbury, minister for foreign affairs; the First Consul being reminded that the English ministry could not exercise a control over the press; (while, on the other hand, "The Moniteur" was the organ of his government); but that, if what was published was libellous, or actionable, the printers and publishers were open to punishment. With regard to the emigrants, Lord Hawkesbury disclaimed all knowledge of, or belief in, any evil designs entertained by them against the head of the French government. As a measure of conciliation, Peltier was brought to trial for a libel against the First Consul, at the instance of the attorney-general. He was defended with great eloquence by Mr. Mackintosh (afterwards Sir James), but was found guilty. The arguments of the counsel, however, and the public feeling in his favour, gave him the appearance of a triumph; and he was never brought up to receive sentence, the quarrel with France soon coming to an open rupture. The "damages," and the "costs," however, have been severely felt by both parties.

In February, 1803, Napoleon, irritated beyond further endurance, by the protracted negotiations which only left things as they were before, formed the resolution of entering personally into conference with the British ambassador, Lord Whitworth. In the course of their interview, the First Consul, without attending to diplomatic forms, or attempting to disguise hostile intentions under established etiquette, openly stated his various causes of complaint; and ended by peremptorily demanding the execution of the treaty of Amiens, peace or war being the alternative. The result was a message from the King of England to the House of Commons, stating that he had occasion for additional aid, to enable him to defend his dominions, in case of an encroachment on the part of France; of which the great naval prepara-



tions in the ports of France, gave reason to entertain an apprehension. The cause of apprehension, assigned in his Majesty's message, injured his ministers in public opinion, as it was unfounded in fact, no such preparations being in progress, and the assertion in question being triumphantly refuted in a note by Talleyrand.

Mr. Fox eloquently espoused the cause of the First Consul in the House of Commons, and raised his warning voice in the debate on the King's message. "His Majesty's ministers," said he, "would do well to consider the tendency of their measures. If through their negligence, rashness, or ill-concerted plans, they involve the country in war at this important period, I shall pronounce the present administration to be the most fatal and destructive which ever directed the affairs of Great Britain. \* \* \* I still approve of the treaty of Amiens, and principally because it freed us from those detestable and abominable principles upon which the late war was conducted. I hope that we shall never hear again of wars begun for the pretence of the protection of religion and social order. I trust that such hypocrisy is for ever destroyed; and that no ministers will again attempt to impose upon a generous people by such false prettexts." The ministry was, however, supported by large majorities, and events manifestly tended towards the renewal of hostilities.

It was the policy of Napoleon to prevent the procrastination of these fruitless accusations and rejoinders. If war was inevitable, it was for his interest to commence it at once. His language, in the interview he had already held with the English ambassador, was sufficiently plain. "No consideration on earth," he then said, "shall make me consent to your retention of Malta; I would as soon agree to put you in possession of the Faubourg St. Antoine. Every wind that blows from England brings nothing but hatred and hostility towards me. An invasion is the only measure of offence that I can take against her, and I am determined to put myself at the head of the expedition. There are a hundred chances to one against my success; but I am not the less determined to attempt the descent, if war must be the consequence of the present discussion." He now quickly brought matters to a crisis. He attacked Lord Whitworth in vehement and excited language, at a diplomatic meeting at the Tuileries, on the 13th of March, 1803. "You are then determined on war?" said the First Consul, who was visibly in considerable agitation. The English ambassador, in the courteous forms of guarded diplomacy, disclaimed the accusation; but the First Consul would not hear the reply: "We have been at war for fifteen years," said he, interrupting the words of the ambassador; "you are determined on hostility for fifteen years more; and you force me to it." He then turned to the Russian ambassador, and continued: "The English





wish for war; but if they draw the sword first, I will be the last to return it to the scabbard. They do not respect treaties; which, henceforth, we must cover with black crape." He then again addressed Lord Whitworth: "To what purpose are these armaments? Against whom do you take these measures of precaution? I have not a single ship of the line in any port in France. But if you arm, I, too, will take up arms; if you fight, I will fight; you may destroy France, but you cannot intimidate her." Lord Whitworth, preserving his calmness, replied, "We desire neither the one nor the other; we desire to live with her on terms of good intelligence." "You must respect treaties then," said Napoleon sternly; "woe to those by whom they are not respected! They will be accountable for the consequences to all Europe." Repeating the last words twice over, he rose, and abruptly retired from the levee, leaving all present in a state of considerable consternation.

In England, resentment against the First Consul was raised to a high pitch, by this insult offered to the nation in the person of its ambassador; and the ministerial press did not fail to fan the flame, by bringing forward other causes of grievance, real or pretended. The mission of General Sebastiani to the court of Constantinople and the ports of the Adriatic, gave grounds to fear further designs on Egypt; the obstinate

resistance to the English retention of Malta looked like a prospective intention of making that island a stepping-stone to India. Whether there existed real ground of apprehension as to these measures or not, there can be no doubt that the way in which they were brought forward by the press at such a moment, contributed to hurry on the war. Some faint efforts at negociation, however, were still made. The English ministry offered to lower their claim upon Malta, to an acknowledgment of their right to hold possession of the island for ten years, instead of holding it in perpetuity. The First Consul resolutely continued to demand the fulfilment of the treaty; proposing, however, that since a Neapolitan garrison was considered objectionable, a Russian or Austrian one should be substituted; but to this the British ministry would not listen. Lord Whitworth left Paris, and Great Britain declared war against France on the 18th of May, 1803. "Period ever fatal and memorable," says Hazlitt; "the commencement of another Iliad of woes, not to be forgotten while the world shall last." Before the formal declaration of hostilities, the English seized on all the French shipping in their ports, and took two French ships of war. This proceeding however, is, stated by Scott and other writers, to be of "universal custom" in such cases, and accordingly not to be reprehended. The First Consul nevertheless, irritated by it to such a degree that he retaliated in a manner neither justified by honour, humanity, nor "universal custom." He seized on all the English who were resident or travelling in France on the faith of the peace, and treated them as prisoners of war. The amount of misery he thus created and maintained, while for the weary length of twelve years these unfortunate "*detenus*," as they were called, lingered in hopeless exile, bereft from all the relations and ties of affection, with blasted prospects, and "occupation gone," is fearful to reflect upon, and adds a strange and melancholy item to the established horrors of war. Napoleon, however, never expressed any remorse on the subject, but appears rather to have felt concern at not having rendered their captivity more rigorous, in revenge for England having degraded the French prisoners of war, by placing them on board the hulks. He once offered to compromise the matter, by including the *detenus* in an exchange of prisoners; but the English ministers heartlessly stood out on some political punctilio, and would not come to any terms about them, and they were left to their fate until the end of the war.

France was totally unprepared for the sudden declaration of war; a proof sufficient to shew that the First Consul had not desired the termination of the peace. The army was completely on a peace establishment. Great numbers of the troops were disbanded; the parks of artillery were broken up. New plans for re-casting the artillery had been proposed, and they had already begun to break up the cannon to throw them



into the furnaces. The navy was in a still less serviceable condition. The utmost energy was requisite to meet the emergency. Napoleon was never found wanting on such occasions; and he now shewed no embarrassment, but turned his mind to the requisite points with his accustomed promptitude and clearness. The several communications which had passed between the two hostile governments previous to the rupture, were laid before the legislative body; and the senate received a consular message, which declared that the government had only refused further concessions at that line which its principles and duties dictated. "The negotiations are interrupted, and we are attacked," continued the address. "Let us at least fight to maintain the faith of treaties, and the honour of the French name." The nation responded with enthusiasm to the call. Sums of money were voted by the large towns for building ships. The army was rapidly recruited. The law of the conscription passed by the Directory in 1798, supplied France with a mine, of at least the rough ore, of soldiers. By that law, every young man between the age of twenty and twenty-five years was required to be attached to some military corps. This does not imply that they were sent into camps and barracks, but that they were taught the art of war, and became liable to be summoned to active service, according to the necessities of the country, under the condition of being kept no longer than four years from their homes, (unless in extraordinary circumstances, of which the national representation was to be the sole judge), and with the power of finding substitutes. It must be evident that, under a despotic government, such an institution was liable to abuse; and, before the termination of the long and dreadful struggle which now began, France groaned under the infliction. At the commencement, however, the ranks were filled with alacrity.

The first hostile movement of Napoleon was upon the continental dominions of George III. General Mortier invaded the Electorate of Hanover, with fifteen thousand men. He was opposed by a considerable force under the Duke of Cambridge, and General Walmoden, which withdrew at the approach of the French, and successively occupied different positions. The invasion of the Electorate was a violation of the Germanic constitution; but the continental powers were too much overawed to interfere; and Hanover, left to its own resources, was utterly unable to resist France. The Duke of Cambridge threw up his command and returned home; the Hanoverian army laid down their arms and were disbanded, and the Electorate was occupied by the French. The strongholds, depôts of arms and ammunition, and revenues of the state, all fell into their hands; and its fine breed of horses supplied their cavalry. General Mortier noticed, with considerable feeling, the evident emotion of the regiment of Hanoverian Guards, at delivering over their horses to his army. The strong attachment of these dragoons to their horses



is well known. Heavy contributions were also levied by the French on Hamburg, Bremen, and others of the Hanse towns. The Prince Royal of Denmark was the only continental sovereign who attempted to resist the informality of the First Consul's proceedings. He raised an army of thirty thousand men to oppose them; but, finding himself unsupported, he soon resumed a pacific attitude.

The second movement of the First Consul was the occupation of Naples. The following proclamation preceded the invasion of the kingdom by the French army. "The King of England has refused to execute the treaty of Amiens. The French army is obliged to occupy the positions which it quitted in virtue of that treaty; positions which we will maintain so long as England shall persist in retaining Malta." No resistance was attempted, and Tarentum was strongly fortified and garrisoned by French troops; as were, at the same time, the island of Elba and the coast of Tuscany. These measures, besides enabling the First Consul to maintain his army by levies on the foreign states he occupied, crippled the commerce of England by shutting up all communication with many of the best markets on the continent.

The First Consul himself, accompanied by Josephine, visited the principal towns, proceeding through the Netherlands to the northern coast, where he made observations and gave orders respecting the fortifications. He visited Montreuil, Etaples, Boulogne, Ambleteuse, Vime-



reux, Calais, and Dunkirk, and thence proceeded to Antwerp, where, after thoroughly examining into its condition, he ordered the commencement of those extensive works by which he converted that mercantile port into a strong military position. The English were now excluded from every port within the wide range of French influence; and every port in that wide range was blockaded by English ships. None shall come in—none shall come out; no imports—no exports; no fresh provisions—no news! Such was the position in which two governments—in what we are taught to consider a mature period of civilisation and wisdom—placed two great nations; a position which would be identical with the children's game of "my flag and your flag!" but for the dull folly and wide devastation of the consequences.

These measures were all preparatory, on the part of Napoleon, to his determined plan, to attempt the invasion of England. Various reports on the best means to be employed for the purpose had been made ready. After comparing them, he decided that he had no means of grappling with the power of England at sea, and that his fleet of men-of-war, ready or even in progress, afforded no chance of success. He, therefore, issued orders for constructing some thousands of gun-boats, flat-bottomed boats, and other small craft, similar to those which had been prepared during the former war. His orders were rapidly accomplished. The larger towns had voted money for building men-of-war, the less wealthy now voted it for these smaller vessels. They were built on the banks of the navigable rivers; floated down to the sea between Harfleur and Flushing; and then, collected in little squadrons, they crept close along shore, protected from the English ships by the batteries, to the great place of rendezvous at Boulogne. Meanwhile, an immense army was assembling in six divisions, in camps which extended from Utrecht to the mouth of the Somme. Marmont, Mortier, Soult, Davoust, Ney, and Junot, were the principal commanders of this armament, which numbered one hundred and sixty thousand men, and took the name of the Army of England. Augereau was placed at the head of another army, stationed at Bayonne, and destined to advance upon Portugal, if that country did not renounce the English influence. General Lannes was sent to Lisbon to negotiate; and the Court, terrified to offend either of the hostile powers, purchased its neutrality by a large annual tribute to France. Spain, as we have seen, had preserved peace on similar terms. By another negotiation, the First Consul had secured his recent acquisition on the American continent from British seizure, having sold Louisiana to the United States, his faithful allies, for a sum nearly amounting to three millions sterling.

The energy of the First Consul seemed to increase with the occasion; and his clearness of mind was the more forcibly evinced in proportion to



the complication of his engagements. He took a house near Boulogne, called the Pont de Brique, and frequently went there to superintend the operations in person. He usually arrived when least expected, mounted his horse immediately, rode through the camps, reviewed the troops, or visited the harbour,—inspecting the works, and generally taking home the principal officers and engineers to a late dinner; thus acquiring, before night, a far more accurate knowledge of all that was done than if he had read page after page of reports: after which, while he seemed still among the troops, he was back again at St. Cloud. Great works, important not only in war, but in peace, were accomplished by this Army of England while encamped. The soldiers were employed, after the manner of the ancient Romans, in executing the projects conceived by the engineers; being alternately exercised and employed as paid labourers. By these means, the harbour of Boulogne was scooped out, and a basin, capable of containing two thousand vessels of the flotilla, was formed; a bridge and pier were then constructed. A fine harbour was also constructed at Vimereux. At Ambleteuse, the pestilent marshes were drained by means of a great sluice, which, reducing the waters to the proper channel of the river, gave several thousand acres of valuable land to agriculture, and made the country healthy. Great magazines of arms and provisions were formed, cannon founded, sails and cordage made; all these operations were carried on by the soldiers. Various manœuvres were practised by night, to avoid the observation of the English ships; it was then the soldiers were exercised in embarking and disembarking with celerity.

These hostile preparations were productive of corresponding zeal on the part of England. A spirit of unbounded energy instantly ran through the very veins of the whole country, and every individual, however quiet, pacificatory, or stolid his previous character and habits, now rose with a determined vigour, as though the safety of his fatherland depended on his single exertions. We take the following graphic description from Hazlitt:—

“All our fleets were put into requisition from the Baltic to the Tagus, from the Tagus to the coasts of Sicily. Not a fishing-boat but seemed to have new life put into it, and to prepare for the conflict. Upwards of five hundred ships of war, of various descriptions and sizes, scoured the ocean in different directions. English squadrons blockaded every port in the channel or Mediterranean, and our cruizers were either seen scudding over the waters, like sea-gulls dallying with their native element and hovering near their prey, or stood in and insulted the enemy on his own shores, cutting out his vessels, or dismantling his forts. By land, the hubbub and consternation was not less. Britain armed from one end to the other to repel the threatened invasion. An army of volunteers



sprung up like grasshoppers. Every hill had its horseman, every bush or brake its sharp-shooter. The preparations were not the least active at the greatest distance from the scene of danger. Petitions were put into our liturgy, to deliver us from an insolent and merciless foe, who 'was about to swallow us up quick;' nor was there a church-door in the remotest corner of Great Britain, on which was not posted a call on high and low, rich and poor, to bestir themselves in the common defence, which, proceeding from Mr. Cobbett's powerful pen, roused the hopes and fears of the meanest rustic into a flame of martial enthusiasm."

Camps were formed on the English shore opposite to France, which were frequently visited by the king in person. The regular army amounted to one hundred thousand, the militia to eighty thousand; and three hundred and fifty thousand volunteers were under arms. The courage and resolution of these newly-formed soldiers was put to the proof on several occasions by the energy with which they marched to the supposed point of attack, when the beacons on different hills were lighted under a false alarm. Had Napoleon ever effected a landing, he would have met with an opposition far exceeding anything he anticipated.

Mr. Pitt returned to office in March, 1804, which circumstance was regarded with truth by the nation as an earnest that the war was to be carried on with unscrupulous and determined vigour. Meanwhile, the activity in France continued unabated; and scarcely a day passed without some trifling engagement, brought on by the rigorous pursuit of the squadrons of the French flotilla, as they advanced to Boulogne. At one of these, the First Consul is said to have assisted in person.





## CHAPTER XXIII.

CONSPIRACY OF GEORGES CADOU DAL—PICHEGRU AND MOREAU IMPLICATED—CONSPIRATORS ARRESTED—THE DUKE D'ENGHIEN SEIZED, TRIED, AND EXECUTED—DEATH OF PICHEGRU—CAPTAIN WRIGHT—HIS DEATH—TRIAL OF GEORGES AND MOREAU—EXECUTION OF GEORGES—MOREAU BANISHED—PROTESTS OF FOREIGN COURTS—SUMMARY IN RELATION TO THE DUKE D'ENGHIEN.



THE hurry of preparation with which the year 1803 closed, was changed, in the beginning of 1804, for a period of dark intrigues against the life and government of the First Consul, in unravelling which he was forced to employ his time and energies more after the manner of an inquisitor than the head of a great country; leaving his name sullied with some black suspicions, and one positive accusation of treachery and cruelty. The tragic death of the Duke d'Enghien was one act of this gloomy drama: it

has generally been treated as an isolated fact, and to this cause may be ascribed much of the mystery in which it is shrouded, and the confusing manner in which it is generally related. It shall be our object to give the whole series of circumstances in their order; carefully detailing all

the established facts, without mixing them with conjecture, theory, or comment, until the whole has been laid before the reader.

It will be remembered that the ministry of police had been suppressed after the Peace of Amiens. M. Réal, a counsellor of state, had the superintendence of everything connected with the general system of *surveillance*, in concert with the grand judge. Fouché, however, had not laid aside his occupation, though it was officially taken from him; and there remains no doubt that he was aware of the intrigues of 1804, before the police had suspected them, if indeed he did not foment them, in order to make his own services appear necessary to the state; and that he was among the first to fill the mind of the First Consul with suspicions, some of which were well-founded; others, at all events, exaggerated. These being corroborated by intercepted letters, which hinted at a speedy change in the government, and reports of apparent disaffection in La Vendée, occasioned the mission to that province of Savary, who held the post of colonel of the legion, called *gendarmes d'élite*, or chosen body of military police. Savary put himself in communication with a former Vendean chief, and elicited by personal observation that the country people were in an excited state, ready for a fresh revolt, and fully expecting the return of Georges Cadoudal, to place himself at their head; some of them asserting that he was already in France. With this information, which only added conjecture to conjecture, Savary returned to Paris. Meanwhile, Napoleon, who is always described as possessing a ready tact for discovering when he was upon a volcano, and where to place his finger on the dangerous spot, had examined the lists, kept by the police, of suspected persons; had caused several arrests, and brought some to trial, who had been detained in prison for months. Two of these were executed, but would confess nothing, defying authority, and boasting that it would not be of long duration. A clue was next obtained to the existence of danger in a different direction. A party of emigrants had lately settled in the territory of Baden. It was ascertained that Mr. Drake and Mr. Spencer Smith, the British residents at the Courts of Munich and Stuttgart, maintained a correspondence with these persons. The French government employed an emissary to sound their intentions. This spy, named Mehée de la Touche, returned with certain sums of money given to him by the credulous Englishmen, to forward the royalist cause; and with the information that they kept up a correspondence with the emigrants of Baden, as well as those of the interior, in the hope of fomenting a royalist insurrection, having for an auxiliary the Baroness Von Reich, long known as an active promoter of anti-revolutionary plots. It is certain, however, as Scott affirms, that no plans of assassination were entertained by these gentlemen. Napoleon again examined the lists of suspected persons, and selected for trial



one named Querel, described as formerly a surgeon in the rebel army, and arrested two months before. This man was condemned, but on being led to execution, declared he had confessions to make which concerned the life of the First Consul. Being promised a pardon, he declared that he had been in Paris six months; that he had come from England with Georges Cadoudal, and six other persons whom he named; that they were landed at the cliff of B  ville, near Dieppe, by a cutter of the British royal navy; that they had been since joined by fourteen more, all landed in the same way; and finally, that another landing was shortly to take place at the same spot. He described the man who received them on landing, the farm houses at which they were lodged, and declared that all his companions in the adventure were now in Paris. Four of the men he named had been accomplices in the affair of the *infernal machine*. The whole of the party were under the direction and ready to obey the orders of Georges Cadoudal. Paris was immediately surrounded by a cordon of troops; and the barriers were shut night and day. Savary was ordered to hold himself in readiness to proceed to the coast, to watch for the expected English cutter, with the fresh party of conspirators.

These important disclosures called for immediate measures. The lists of suspected persons in the vicinity of Dieppe were consulted. The son of a watchmaker, named Troche, was fixed upon, arrested, brought to Paris, and confronted with Querel. The suspicion was found to be just. Querel recognised him immediately as an agent in the disembarkations, and he was easily induced to turn traitor, and act the part of a guide to the police. Savary, accompanied by Troche, was despatched to Dieppe with a party of gendarmes, all disguised. Enquiring, upon his arrival, for the signals of the coast, he was informed that an English cutter continued to hover off Treport. Guided by Troche, he informed himself of the different cottages at which the conspirators had been received, and where he found provisions made ready for the expected landing. About dusk, the cutter stood in towards shore, so as to be able, with a single tack, to reach sufficiently near to send a boat to the foot of the cliff. Troche declared it to be the same cutter which had already landed three parties. At nightfall, Savary posted himself with his gendarmes at the outlet of a deep ravine, near the foot of the cliff of B  ville, which rises abruptly from the sea to the height of two hundred and fifty feet. The weather was stormy, and the ground covered with snow. At the extremity of the cliff was an apparatus for smuggling, into all the secrets of which Savary was now initiated by his perfidious guide. It consisted of a rope about the thickness of a merchantman's cable, fixed perpendicularly against the cliff, and fastened to stout stakes driven in for the purpose. The man who ascended last always coiled it

up, and deposited it in its appropriate place. It seemed to be a very ancient establishment. The country people religiously kept the secret of its existence. It had its regular superintendents, and the smugglers punctually paid the charge imposed upon them for its use. By this rope, Georges, and all those concerned in his undertaking, had entered France. The landing, however, could not this time be effected. Savary watched six or seven nights, during all which time the sea continued too rough to allow of the attempt; and, at the end of that time, the cutter sailed off, probably warned of the impending danger. It appeared that the country people had no idea that those who had landed were other than smugglers; but they evinced far more concern at the loss of their rope than at learning that they had introduced Georges into the country.

Meanwhile, fresh discoveries had been made in Paris. An emigrant, named Bouvet de Lozier, having been arrested, attempted suicide in prison; and in the struggles of returning consciousness, uttered exclamations in the hearing of his gaolers, which implicated Pichegru (who was supposed to be in England) in the conspiracy, and raised suspicions against Moreau. The latter general had held himself aloof from the First Consul since the 18th Brumaire. His former position of general of the army of the Rhine, had placed him in a kind of rivalry with regard to the general of the army of Italy; and this feeling, which Moreau appears to have encouraged, had never been forgotten, and had spread widely among all the soldiers he had commanded, with whom he was very popular. He had taken no part in public affairs, but was regarded as a republican. The soundness of his principles, however, had naturally been doubted since the period of Pichegru's defection, in 1797, when, it will be remembered, he concealed his knowledge, for several months, of the treachery that general had meditated. He had, besides, married a royalist lady, of an intriguing disposition. For all these reasons, he was the more readily suspected, and was arrested on his way from his country house to Paris. Pichegru was betrayed, for a large sum of money, by the pretended friend at whose house he lay concealed, and was seized in the night while in bed, but not without a desperate resistance. All the rest of the persons implicated, to the number of forty, were taken very soon afterwards. Amongst them were the Marquess de Polignac, and M. Jules de Polignac (the confidant of the Count d'Artois), Charles de Riviere, and other royalists of distinction. Georges Cadoudal was among the last arrests. He was stopped in a cabriolet, on the 9th of March, by two agents of the police, one of whom he shot dead, and wounded the other, but was overpowered by the crowd, before he could escape. He had been traversing Paris in this manner for several days, fearful to enter any house. A large sum of money was found in his possession when he was taken. Finding resist-





ance vain, he openly avowed and boasted of the purpose for which he had come to Paris. "He had come," he said, "to attack the First Consul with open force; and with means of the same nature as those employed by his escort and guard to defend him." By the confessions of Georges' attendants, it appears that this desperate Chouan had actually made more than one attempt to assassinate Napoleon. According to Scott, he is believed, on one occasion, to have penetrated into the Tuileries, disguised as a domestic, but had not been able to get near enough to accomplish his purpose.

This plot against the life of the First Consul, excited a profound impression of indignation throughout France. Addresses poured in from every department, and almost every town, throughout the republic, congratulating him and themselves on his escape, and invoking the vengeance of the law on the conspirators. The spirit of the army was roused to the highest pitch of enthusiasm for their chief, at the bare idea of the base attempts that had been made and meditated. Had Moreau been brought before a council of war at this moment, all his former reputation would not have saved his life. Napoleon was deeply affected at the demonstrations of affection he received, but his mind was still disturbed; he felt he had not unravelled this scheme. For whom was Georges acting? Who was it that, supposing the attempt at assassination had succeeded, was intended to come forward, and step into the vacant seat of power? An expectation that one of the Bourbon princes was yet to be landed at Béville, was hinted at by some of the prisoners.



Others described a person of distinction, who appeared every ten or twelve days at the lodgings of Georges, to whom all present, including the Polignacs and De Riviere, shewed extraordinary respect. A review was taken of all the Bourbon princes. The only one of them known to be in the neighbourhood of France, was the Duke d'Enghien, who then resided at Ettenheim, in the territory of Baden, on the right bank of the Rhine. He was the son of the Duke of Bourbon, and grandson of the Prince of Condé; was known to be brave and resolute, having led the van of the emigrant army, and fought with the greatest valour on every occasion. The intrigues of the English residents at Munich and Stuttgart, were not forgotten, and added their weight to the present suspicions. It was determined to despatch an emissary to observe the motions of the Duke d'Enghien.

The whole of the foregoing account has been collected from the various French authorities, and is strictly confined to the discoveries made by the French government, the measures taken in consequence, and the public feeling in France. The corresponding history of the proceedings in England, and the actual plans of the emigrants, throw additional light on the whole. We extract it entire from Sir Walter Scott.

“ The Peace of Amiens being broken, the British government, with natural policy, resolved once more to avail themselves of the state of public feeling in France, and engage the partisans of royalty in a fresh attack upon the consular government. They were, probably, in some degree deceived concerning the strength of that party, which had been much reduced under Bonaparte's management, and had listened too implicitly to the promises and projects of agents, who, themselves sanguine beyond what was warranted, exaggerated even their own hopes in communicating them to the British ministers. It seems to have been acknowledged that little success was to be hoped for, unless Moreau could be brought to join the conspiracy. This, however, was esteemed possible; and notwithstanding the disagreement, personal as well as political, which had subsisted betwixt him and Pichegru, the latter seems to have undertaken to become the medium of communication betwixt Moreau and the royalists. Escaped from the deserts of Cayenne, to which he had been exiled, Pichegru had, for some time, found refuge and support in London, and there openly professed his principles as a royalist, on which he had for a long time acted in secret.

“ A scheme was in agitation for raising the royalists in the west, and the Duke de Berri was to make a descent on the coast of Picardy, to favour the insurrection. The Duke d'Enghien, grandson of the Prince of Condé, fixed his residence under the protection of the Margrave of Baden, at the chateau of Ettenheim, with the purpose, doubtless, of

being ready to put himself at the head of the royalists in the east of France, or, *if occasion should offer*, in Paris itself. Whilst the French princes expected on the frontier the effect of commotions in the interior of France, Pichegru, Georges Cadoudal, and about thirty other royalists of the most determined character, were secretly landed in France; made their way to the metropolis, and contrived to find lurking-places invisible to the all-seeing police." Scott does not specify in this place the means by which this band of conspirators were "secretly landed in France;" but five pages further on he supplies the omission in relating the capture of Wright. "Captain Wright, the commander of a British brig of war, had been engaged in putting ashore, on the coast of Morbihan, Pichegru and some of his companions." "There can be no reason to doubt," continues Scott, "that a part of those agents, and Georges in particular, saw the greatest obstacle of their enterprise in the existence of Bonaparte, and were resolved to commence by his assassination. Pichegru, who was constantly in company with Georges, cannot well be supposed ignorant of this purpose, although better befitting the fierce chief of a band of Chouans, than the conqueror of Holland."

The foregoing account marks the singular accuracy of the discoveries of the French police, and the truth of Napoleon's suspicions. He had



retired for a few days to Malmaison, from the anxious cares of the capital, when he received the report returned by the emissary who had been despatched to Ettenheim. The report stated, that the Duke d'Enghien was frequently visited by the emigrants of Baden; one of whom was believed to be General Dumouriez; and that he was known to give them money. This was all quite natural. It stated further, that he went almost every week to the theatre at Strasburg (on the French side of the Rhine); that he was frequently absent eight, ten, or twelve days, without any one knowing where he was. He was known to have a passion for hunting, and these long absences might be spent in the Black Forest to follow this favourite pastime; but it was also a plausible supposition that they were occasioned by secret visits to Paris, and that the person described as visiting Georges from time to time, who was treated with extraordinary marks of respect, was no other than this prince. It had been asserted that he ventured to Paris in the time of the Directory, when the affairs of the republic seemed desperate, and that Bernadotte, then minister at war, warned him to make his escape. The whole train of circumstances excited and determined the will of Napoleon to a course of action, which, having once begun, he pursued to its consequences. "This," he said, "is beyond a jest! To come from Ettenheim to Paris to plot an assassination, and to fancy oneself safe, because one is behind the Rhine! I should be a fool to suffer it." He called a council, consisting of the two consuls, the grand judge, Talleyrand, and Fouché, in which the subject of discussion was the seizure of the Duke d'Enghien by force. Cambacérès alone opposed this measure, but was overruled by Talleyrand. The First Consul having collected the voices which supported the proposition, immediately went to his cabinet to dictate the order for the apprehension of the Duke d'Enghien. It was dated the 10th of March, 1804. It directed General Ordener to go secretly to Strasburg, and to make the proper provisions to transport three hundred dragoons, and three or four brigades of gendarmerie across the Rhine at Rheinau; to proceed thence expeditiously to the residence of the Duke d'Enghien; to take him prisoner, and bring him to Paris. The order also directed the seizure of all the papers belonging to the duke, and the arrest of the supposed General Dumouriez.

The commands of Napoleon were strictly and expeditiously obeyed. The duke was seized in his bed on the morning of the 15th of March, and, together with seven of his friends and three domestics, was carried to Strasburg, where he remained for three days. It was here ascertained that the supposed Dumouriez was in fact General Thumery. The duke was now removed from all his companions with the exception of his aide-de-camp, the Baron St. Jaques. Early in the morning of the 18th, he





ARREST OF THE DUKE D' ENGHEN.



was ordered to prepare for a journey. The linen he was permitted to take amounted to two shirts only—an ominous circumstance. He was conveyed with secrecy and speed to Paris, where he arrived on the 20th, and was committed for a few hours to the Temple, but before nightfall he was transferred to the castle of Vincennes, an ancient Gothic fortress, about a mile beyond the walls of the city. A consular decree, dated the same day, ordered that “the heretofore Duke d’Enghien, accused of having borne arms against the republic, and of having been, and still being, in the pay of England, for taking part in the plots contrived by that power against the internal and external safety of the republic, is to be brought before a court-martial, composed of seven members appointed by the governor of Paris, which court will assemble at Vincennes.” The grand-judge, Regnier, Talleyrand, as minister at war, and Murat, then governor of Paris, were charged with the execution of this decree.

The military commission, composed of seven colonels of the army, reached Vincennes about five in the evening. General Hullin, governor of Vincennes, was appointed to act as president. Shortly afterwards, Savary, with a brigade of infantry, marched into the castle, which had been already strongly garrisoned by the *gendarmérie d’élite* and a detachment of cavalry.

The Duke d’Enghien, being overcome with fatigue, retired to bed on his arrival at Vincennes, and was awoke at midnight, out of a deep sleep, to reply to the interrogatories of a military commission.\* In answer to their questions, the duke avowed his name and rank, the period at which he had quitted France (1789), and the various countries in which he had since resided; avowed also that he had served against France in the emigrant army of his grandfather, the Prince of Condé, from its formation under the pay of England, until it was disbanded; admitted that he received a pension from England, which was all he had to live on; said that he had resided at Ettenheim for two years and a-half, having official permission from the Elector of Baden; that he remained there only because the emperor allowed him the privilege of hunting, a diversion of which he was very fond; but he requested to add, that as the reasons which induced him to remain at Ettenheim no longer existed, he had proposed to remove to Fribourg, in Bresgau, a much more agreeable town; admitted that he had, as was natural, corresponded with his grandfather and his father; also, with certain friends in the interior of the republic, who had formerly served with him, but only

\* The whole account of the interrogatory and trial of the Duke d’Enghien is here extracted from the official archives of the period, as published by the Duke de Dalberg, in his “Documents and Correspondence,” subsequent to the appearance of Savary’s pamphlet, in 1823.



on private business; denied having ever to his knowledge seen General Pichegru; knew that Pichegru had wished to see him, but was glad he never had, if the reports of his accession to the odious measures in contemplation by the conspirators in Paris were true; denied having ever seen Dumouriez. Above the signature of his name to the minutes of the foregoing interrogatory, are the following words, in the hand-writing of the duke:—"Before I sign the present minute, I earnestly request to have a private audience with the First Consul. My name, my rank, my manner of thinking, and the horror of my situation, induce me to hope that he will not refuse my request."

At two o'clock in the morning, the duke was summoned to appear before the court-martial then assembled. The questions addressed to him, and his answers, were precisely the same in import as those at the previous interrogatory; the only difference being, that a degree of haughty defiance is observable in the answers of the duke on this occasion; arising, probably, from the neglect of the request he had made, and a perception that his fate was sealed. To his declaration that he had served against France before, he now added, "that he was ready to take the field, and wished to serve in the new war of England against France." To his avowal that he received a pension from England, he added the amount, "One hundred and fifty guineas a-month;" and omitted the explanation that he depended on this allowance to defray private expenses. Being asked if he had anything to add to his grounds of defence, he replied, "that he had nothing more to say," and therein persisted.

The president now desired the prisoner to be removed, and the court proceeded to deliberate with closed doors. The following is a copy, both of the words and blank spaces, of the judgment recorded in their minutes:—

"The court, by an unanimity of voices, declared the prisoner guilty, and applied to him article — of the law of the —, to this effect —; and, in consequence, condemned him to suffer the pain of death. Orders, that the present judgment shall be executed forthwith, by the care of the captain-reporter, after causing it to be read to the prisoner in the presence of the different detachments of the corps of the garrison.

"Done, closed, and determined, without adjourning, at Vincennes, the day, month, and year as above, and signed by us."

Here follow the names of all the members of the court-martial, that of the secretary, Molin, being alone omitted, apparently by inadvertency. The document bears date, 30th of Ventose, Year 12 (21st of March, 1804).

The official report of the sentence, which appeared the following day in "The Moniteur," was different to this, although it purported to be a copy. It was much longer; the blanks were filled up by references to different laws, which were made to bear on the case as well as might be, and the name of the secretary was inserted. It is not recorded how long the court continued in deliberation; but only two hours had elapsed after the conclusion of the trial, when the Duke d'Enghien was summoned to follow the commandant of Vincennes, M. Harel; and conducted by him down the winding stairs which led to the subterraneous part of the castle. As the cold and damp air met him in his descent, the unfortunate duke, pressing the arm of Harel, said, "Am I to be immured in a dungeon?" Harel was much affected by the appeal, but answered nothing. The descent terminated at a postern, which opened into the wide and spacious ditch of the fortress, which had been fixed on for the scene of death. The troops were drawn up under arms, and a party of *gendarmes d'elite*, under the command of Savary, were stationed as the executioners. It was now six o'clock in the morning, and the sun had, therefore, risen; but as a heavy mist lay on the ground, the yellow light of torches was mingled with the grey and gloomy atmosphere. It is said the grave was already dug; but this point, though very probable, remains doubtful. The sentence was now read to the victim. Some of the witnesses say he demanded a priest, and was refused; upon which he knelt for a few minutes, seemingly absorbed in prayer, and then, rising quickly, prepared to take his station. He would not permit his eyes to be bandaged; the word was given, the soldiers fired, and he fell. The body, in its clothes, was hastily buried; the earth was closed over it; the crowd of living men, who had been there assembled to compass the death of one, bent their accustomed way into the world again, and silence once more settled over the ancient fortress and its new-made grave.

The gloom which already pervaded the capital was increased by this sudden, and seemingly mysterious, transaction. The name of the Duke d'Enghien had not been heard among the long list of suspected persons, when the news of his violent death spread abroad. Many reports were circulated injurious to the First Consul; but, whatever were his private feelings, he observed a profound silence, making no attempt to justify the deed; and after the official report, which appeared in "The Moniteur" on the day following the execution, the government never recurred to the subject. The court of St. Petersburg went into mourning for the Bourbon prince, and entered a protest against the violation of the territory of Baden; as did the Swedish government; which only elicited laconic replies from Talleyrand, denying their right to interfere. None of the other continental powers ventured to make any remon-

strance. It is known that Josephine was deeply afflicted at the event, which, it is said, she used her influence to avert. Besides that, all harsh and cruel measures were revolting to her nature, her sympathies were aristocratic, and she had many friends in the emigrant party, amongst whom the transaction was, of course, regarded with horror. The duke had confided to her care, by the hands of Savary, his portrait and a lock of his hair, "to transmit to a lady who was dear to him," with whom he had lived at Ettenheim.

The government was still occupied in collecting evidence for the trial of Georges and his accomplices; and the enquiries had rendered it clear that the stranger, whom the servants of Georges had described as visiting their master at intervals, and whom the First Consul had suspected to be the Duke d' Enghien, was General Pichegru. There is no likelihood that the discovery of this fact at an earlier stage of the proceedings, would have made any difference as to the catastrophe at Vincennes, for it was only considered as one circumstance among many. Still, the First Consul could not fail to experience a certain shock when he found out this fact. The certainty of interviews between Pichegru and Moreau was also proved; but it appeared that Moreau would not listen to plans of assassination, and would not conform to royalist principles; having, on the contrary, views of attaining to the consular dignity himself, and preserving the republic. Georges, therefore, was forced to delay his blow, from the fear that he might only despatch the First Consul for the benefit of General Moreau, whose half measures and uncertainties, while he negotiated with royalists, and still strove to continue a republican, may be said to have caused the failure of the plot by putting off its execution. Hazlitt says of him, that "he had not courage to be an usurper; honesty, to be a patriot; nor even sufficient loyalty to be a traitor."

At this stage of the proceedings, General Pichegru was found dead in his prison, on the morning of the 7th of April. His black silk cravat was tightly twisted round his throat; and to increase the tightness, a small piece of wood, about the length of a finger, which had been broken from a fagot still in his fire-place, had been slipped between his neck and cravat, and twisted round, to act as a mechanical power, until reason forsook him. His head falling back, had compressed the stick, and prevented the cravat from untwisting. The enemies of the First Consul did not fail to accuse him of having caused the assassination of Pichegru; and political partisans, like Scott and Lockhart, of course, repeat the accusation; but there is no evidence whatever in support of it, and much against it. A sentinel was placed outside the window of the room in which Pichegru was confined, and another at his door; not a likely thing to be permitted, if secret assassins were



intended to enter. The strongest circumstance however is, that the murder would have been without motive, for the conviction of Pichegru was certain; and, moreover, his death, at that moment, prevented the proofs of Moreau's guilt from being completely established. His suicide, on the other hand, was easily accounted for: he had become low and desponding, as the evidence against him became more clear; and was known to have declared that he would never die by the hand of an executioner. "What motives," said Napoleon to O'Meara, "could I have in assassinating Pichegru?—a man who was evidently guilty; against whom every proof was ready. No evidence was wanting against him. Perhaps I should have pardoned him. If, indeed, Moreau had been found dead, then people might have said that I had caused his assassination, and with great apparent justice, for he was the only man I had much reason to fear; and until then he was judged innocent."

Another death, which happened in the following year, but as connected with this period of horror, may here be mentioned, has in like manner been ascribed to Napoleon. Captain Wright, the commander of the English cutter who had put the conspirators ashore, was, by a strange fatality, wrecked soon after on the coast of France, and made prisoner. He was examined with the other prisoners, but refused to answer any questions which might implicate his government. He remained in the Temple as a prisoner of war; and towards the end of 1805, he was found dead in his cell, his throat cut from ear to ear. Napoleon was then in Austria, engaged in the campaign of Austerlitz; and it is a strange supposition that the idea of this distant, imprisoned, and unimportant individual, should suddenly start up in his mind amidst his scene of victories, and that he should send orders to murder him for no conceivable motive, and at a period when the very memory of his offences against the French government was almost worn out. Even Mr. Lockhart, differing on this occasion from Scott, acquits Napoleon of such a charge: "Under all the circumstances of the case," he says, "there seems to be no reason for supposing that he could have had any concern in that tragedy." The unfortunate Captain Wright probably committed suicide; a proceeding not wonderful or unaccountable in his situation (as we may see by our common police reports); and it has been supposed, that the news of the successes of the French arms hurried him on to the fatal deed; perhaps, because he became hopeless of any end to his captivity.

The trial of Georges Cadoudal, General Moreau, and the other prisoners, to the number of forty-nine, commenced on the 28th of May. The consular title had been exchanged for the imperial ten days before. We anticipate, however, the order of events, that we may bring our narrative of the conspirators to a conclusion. The trial was attended by

all the foreign ambassadors, and created a great ferment in Paris. It lasted for twelve days, and, during the whole of that time, the court was thronged with crowds of all ranks among the people. Georges appeared with a miniature of Louis XVI. hung round his neck; openly avowed that he had come to Paris to assassinate Napoleon; and seemed only to regret his captivity, because it had prevented his purpose. He amused himself with punning on the name of one of his judges, who had been an old Jacobin. His name being Thuriot, Georges called him Tue-roi (Kill-king), and would sometimes call for brandy to wash his mouth after pronouncing the name or answering any questions. Appearing on one of the days without the picture of the king, Georges was asked by the judge what he had done with it; on which he replied, "And you, what have you done with the original?" He was of course found guilty, and was condemned to death, together with nineteen of his associates, amongst whom were the Marquess de Polignac, and M. de Riviere. Moreau was found guilty, but not to the extent of a capital crime. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment; and this was changed by Napoleon on the same night, for permission to retire to America. Napoleon also provided him with money, by purchasing his estate at Gros-bois and his house in the Rue d'Anjou, at the price which he named himself. Great interest was exerted by the families of the Polignacs and Rivières, to save the lives of their relations: at length, Josephine introduced Madame de Polignac at St. Cloud, who, throwing herself at the feet of Napoleon, obtained his pardon for both. He did not confine his clemency to these great families. A poor girl, who contrived to reach his presence, gained for her brother the same grace which had been extended to the beautiful marchioness for her husband. Six more of the conspirators obtained a commutation of their sentence for exile, or different terms of imprisonment. Georges and all the rest were executed on the 25th of June, and died with the utmost courage, and without the slightest signs of contrition. The royalist party was silenced and humbled by the issue of this conspiracy, which, threatening and formidable in its commencement, served by its discovery and defeat to assist in safely establishing the power of Napoleon.

Having followed the train of these events from their commencement to their close, it only remains to take a survey of that portion of them which relates to the Duke d'Enghien; a task which is imperative on the biographers of Napoleon, because the death of that prince has been called the blackest stain upon his memory, and branded with the epithet of a murder.

The seizure of the Duke d'Enghien was an arbitrary and violent exercise of power on the part of Napoleon, provoked by the unlawful



and treacherous attempts of his enemies. All Europe had been convulsed with war, for the cause of the Bourbon princes; yet they had failed, notwithstanding, to regain their power. Napoleon had overmatched them in open war. Their followers now, for the third time, attacked him by secret treachery; and, to add to the provocation, the English government, which was at open enmity with Napoleon, did not scruple so far to compromise itself on this occasion as to assist in landing these treacherous foes; a line of conduct which exposed its members to the humiliating necessity of protesting against a charge of countenancing assassination. It was in vain that the Bourbon princes made high-sounding protestations to the same effect, while their confidential friends, members of the ancient nobility of their kingdom, were in daily communication with Georges Cadoudal. Napoleon found himself, by the sepractices, placed out of the pale of the world's laws, and ordinary means of protection; treated as an usurper; one, against whom any atrocity was justifiable; and he resorted to the law of retaliation in his own defence. If, by so doing, he reduced himself to the level of the Count d'Artois, and the other princes who were thus plotting against life, at least he should not be judged more harshly than they.

He was afterwards heard to say, "If I had acted right, I should have followed the example of Cromwell, who, on the discovery of the first attempt made to assassinate him, the plot of which had been hatched in France, caused it to be signified to the French king, that if the like occurred again, he, by way of reprisal, would order assassins to be hired to murder him, and a Stuart. Now, I ought to have publicly signified, that on the next attempt at assassination, I would cause the same to be made upon the Bourbon princes; to accomplish which last, indeed, I had only to say, that I would not punish the projectors." (This was not mere assertion; it is well known that he had more than one offer of the kind.)

If, when Napoleon did at last perpetrate that act of reprisal, the revolting details of which are before the reader, he sacrificed one of the best and bravest of the House of Bourbon, this was evil chance, and arose from the circumstance of that one alone being within his reach. He had no especial grounds of resentment against that particular member of the family; having scarcely, indeed, heard his name, or been aware of his existence, before the report from Ettenheim. The Duke d'Enghien died because he was a Bourbon prince, and the horror which his death has so generally excited, is chiefly owing to the same cause. There are few military executions for political offences, the details of which, if followed from beginning to end with the same minuteness, would not excite the same sentiments of pity and horror; but it is seldom that less illustrious victims find chroniclers of their



wrongs. The dungeons of the continental governments which protest against the tragedy of Vincennes, could tell many a tale as dark and full of woe; and the Bourbon princes, when they regained their seat of power, gave it many a companion. France has not forgotten the death of the young and generous Labédoyère, and still contains the grave of the slaughtered marshal, who had deserved his name of "The bravest of the brave."



Had Napoleon waited to weigh his measures very scrupulously, he would, to a certainty, have perished on this occasion, and with him, the revolution; for no man in France, except himself, was capable, at that moment, of maintaining his position against all Europe. The plan of assassination would doubtless have been followed by the return of the Bourbons. This circumstance made his situation doubly perilous. As Fouché said, "The air was full of poniards." Sir Walter Scott remarks that, "Napoleon's nerves were peculiarly susceptible to the dread of assassination:" was there ever a man whose nerves were not so?

The report of the trial of the Duke d'Enghien, as now extant, contains no proof of his implication in the conspiracy, but Savary affirms, that one answer of the prisoner, at least, has either never been recorded, or has been abstracted from the archives, in the same manner as the papers relating to the trial of the Queen of France have been removed, so that the records of her trial are reduced to a few scraps of paper. It must strike every reader, that the questions reported are singularly few, and very little to the purpose. Savary affirms that the president noticed to the prisoner, the inconsistency of his denial of any knowledge of the plots then going on, because they

were the common talk of all France, and all the neighbouring countries; and it was impossible he could be indifferent to events likely to prove of such importance to his family: adding, "There is too much improbability in this, for me to pass it over without observation; I beg you to reflect upon it, that you may have recourse to other means of defence." "The Duke d' Enghien," continues Savary, "after a moment's silence, replied in a grave tone: 'Sir, I perfectly comprehend you; it was not my intention to remain indifferent to them. I had applied to England for an appointment in her armies; and she returned for answer, that she had none to give me, but that I was to remain upon the Rhine, where I should soon have a part to act; and for that I was waiting. I have nothing more to tell you, sir.'" Whether this admission was made by the duke, or not, there can remain no doubt that it was the truth.

Napoleon freely discussed the subject at St. Helena. "If," said he to Las Casas, "I had not had in my favour the laws of my country to punish the culprit, I should still have had the right of the law of nature—of legitimate self-defence. The duke and his party had constantly but one object in view,—that of taking away my life. I was assailed on all sides, and at every instant: air-guns, infernal machines, plots, ambuscades of every kind, were resorted to for that purpose. At last, I grew weary, and took an opportunity of striking them with terror in their turn in London. I succeeded; and from that moment there was an end to all conspiracies. Who can blame me for having acted so? What! blows, threatening my existence, are aimed at me day after day, from a distance of one hundred and fifty leagues; no power on earth, no tribunal can afford me any redress; and I am not to be allowed to use the right of nature, and return war for war! What man, unbiassed by party feeling, possessing the smallest share of judgment or justice, can take upon him to condemn me? On what side will he not throw blame, odium, and criminal accusations? Blood for blood: such is the natural, the inevitable law of retaliation; woe to him who provokes it! Those who foment civil dissensions, or excite political commotions, expose themselves to become the victims of them. It would be a proof of imbecility or madness to imagine and pretend that a whole family should have the strange privilege to threaten my existence, day after day, without giving me the right of retaliation; they could not reasonably pretend to be above the law, in order to destroy others, and claim the benefit of it for their own preservation; the chances must be equal. I had never personally offended any of them. A great nation had chosen me to govern them; almost all Europe had sanctioned their choice. My blood, after all, was not ditch-water; it was time to place it on a par with theirs. And



what if I had carried retaliation further? I might have done it: the disposal of their destiny was more than once offered me; but I rejected the proposition with indignation. Not that I thought it would be unjust for me to consent to it in the situation to which they had reduced me; but I felt so powerful, I thought myself so secure, that I should have considered it a base and gratuitous act of cowardice. My great maxim has always been, that, in war as well as in politics, every evil action, even if legal, can only be excused in case of absolute necessity; whatever goes beyond that, is criminal." It is impossible to misunderstand an exposition so clear as this. Napoleon does not scruple to recognise the law of retaliation as a legitimate rule of action, and makes no pretence to a higher principle than that of expediency; and on that principle he justifies his actions. We find, in his will, the following final record of his feelings on the subject:—"I caused the Duke d'Enghien to be arrested and tried, because that step was essential to the safety, interest, and honour of the French people, when the Count d'Artois was maintaining, by his own confession, sixty assassins at Paris. Under similar circumstances, I would again act in the same way."

This deliberate avowal must be received as a conclusive answer to all those who accuse Napoleon of having endeavoured to transfer the responsibility of the execution of the Duke d'Enghien from himself to others. In familiar conversation with his intimate friends, he entered into the discussion of the circumstances which had determined him to that action; and it was then he noticed the influence of Talleyrand. It was then also he stated that he did not receive, till two days after the execution, a letter which the unfortunate duke had addressed to him from Strasburg, Talleyrand having kept it from him. "As for the assertions that were advanced at the time," said he to Las Casas, "that I had been strenuously opposed in this affair, and that numerous solicitations had been made to me, they are utterly false; and were only invented to make me appear in a more odious light. The same thing may be said of the various motives that have been ascribed to me: these motives may have existed in the bosoms of those who acted an inferior part on that occasion, and may have guided them in their private views; but my conduct was influenced only by the nature of the fact itself, and the energy of my disposition. Undoubtedly, if I had been informed in time of certain circumstances respecting the opinions of the prince, and his disposition; if, above all, I had seen the letter which he wrote to me, and which, God knows for what reason, was only delivered to me after his death, I should certainly have forgiven him." "I asked," says Mr. O'Meara, "if it were true that Talleyrand had retained a letter, written by the Duke d'Enghien to him, until two days after the execution? Napoleon's reply was, 'It is true. The duke had



written a letter, offering his services, and asking a command in the army from me, which Talleyrand did not make known until two days after his execution." Scott, Bourrienne, and others, treat the story of this letter as a fabrication; and possibly it may be one: but there are no proofs that it was not written: those alleged (such as the duke having left no mention of it in his diary, and his aide-de-camp knowing nothing of it) being futile. Talleyrand was very likely to have pursued the course here supposed. He had too much penetration not to perceive that his present master was in peril of his life, and was too good a tactician not to try to avert any generous impulse which should deter him from pursuing the severe measures most likely to ensure his safety. The unprincipled remark attributed sometimes to Talleyrand, and sometimes to Fouché, that "the execution of the Duke d'Enghien was worse than a crime, it was a blunder," was made, if at all, when circumstances had changed. It is surprising that a writer, of Mr. Lockhart's penetration, should assert, that "every motive, that has weight with mankind in general, must have swayed the other way with Talleyrand; a member," he continues, "of one of the noblest families in France; a man unstained by participation in any of the butcheries of the revolution; and, above all, a man whose consummate skill has, through life, steadily pursued one object, namely, his own personal interest." No one will dispute the truth of the last clause of this sentence; but the argument which precedes it, is singularly incorrect. Talleyrand, though unstained by the "butcheries of the revolution," had taken much too prominent a part in it, to feel easy at the possible return of the exiled family. Not to mention other important measures, it was Talleyrand who brought forward, in the National Assembly, the project for the confiscation and sale of the property of the French clergy; and it was he who officiated as Bishop of Autun at the ceremony of the federation, on the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, and who there administered the national oath. Self-interest, therefore, must have led him to dread the return of the Bourbons, to whom he could not at that time have reckoned on being able to render himself so acceptable as to retain his power and station under their government. The arguments of Scott on this point are very shallow, and his narrative of the whole transaction full of inaccuracies. He makes it appear, for instance, that the Duke d'Enghien was not tried till the second night of his imprisonment at Vincennes; and he represents the request made by the prisoner, for an audience of the First Consul, as made on his trial, and cut short by Savary, who, "standing behind the president's chair, controlled their (the commissioners') sentiments of compassion," and said, the request was "inexpedient." This whole story is at once falsified by the simple fact, that the appeal in question was made in writing, at the interroga-

tory before the trial. It is, nevertheless, repeated by Mr. Lockhart, who also inaccurately designates Savary "minister of police;" whereas he held no civil office whatever at that time, but was colonel of the gendarmes; and acted in an executive, not a legislative capacity. A most unjust prejudice has been excited against him by these and similar inventions and errors. The narrative of General Hullin, which also inculpates Savary, giving a different version of the same story, was written in blindness and old age, and manifestly under the influence of fear; and, being contradicted in other points by known facts, should not be regarded as evidence on this.

The yellow haze of that morning twilight—undispelled by the fitful and difficult blaze of the torches, when the victim of self-preserving vengeance was shot down and huddled into his clotted grave—now again hung its entire vapour over the fresh-broken mound which covered the yet-quivering form beneath; vapours that were never, perhaps, thoroughly dispersed from the time that fortress first reared its head, to the period of its hollowness and ruin. But if a steam from the damp base of the rank castle-moat, mingling with steam from the human blood (a few minutes ago flowing strong in vital energies, but now bubbling and sinking under the loose mould) rose up even as the sun rose, and was absorbed; so may we behold the unsubstantial tenure of worldly power, which, at its rise and summit contains within itself little more of the elements of duration, than the effluence of mortality already commencing its decay.









NAPOLEON. EMPEROR.



## CHAPTER XXIV.

NAPOLÉON CREATED EMPEROR—THE IMPERIAL CONSTITUTION—PROTEST OF LOUIS XVIII.—  
THE EMPEROR VISITS THE CAMP AT BOULOGNE—THE NEW TITLE RECOGNISED BY THE  
EUROPEAN POWERS; ENGLAND, RUSSIA, AND SWEDEN, EXCEPTED—ARRIVAL OF POPE  
PIUS VII. AT PARIS—THE CORONATION.



THE title of First Consul, by which Napoleon had been distinguished for more than four years, was exchanged, in May, 1804, for that of Emperor. The change of name made no alteration in the actual power he possessed, nor did it in any way affect either his habits, manners, or modes of thinking. The observance of some additional forms and ceremonies excepted, the Emperor Napoleon differed in no respect from the

First Consul. The creation of the empire was, however, an event of serious importance to France. The imperial dignity was declared here-

ditary in the Bonaparte family, the members of which were to hold rank by right of birth; certain high functionaries were declared necessary appendages to the throne; and, under different titles of distinction, were to be nominated by the sovereign. By the creation of the empire, therefore, a civil order, in possession of peculiar privileges, was once more introduced in France; and the hereditary principle, which had been discarded by the nation, was again adopted. The principle was, however, declared to be established for the sake of, and by the will of the people. That the idea originated with Napoleon himself, and that the number of votes in favour of it, however great, represented only a small part of the nation, are, comparatively, unimportant facts. The recognition of the right, possessed by the people, of altering their form of government, was maintained; and Napoleon uniformly made it his boast, that he derived his power from the people. The principle of the revolution was, therefore, maintained against that of legitimate monarchy. Whether the establishment of the empire was a splendid error on the part of Napoleon, or an act of wise policy, it bears no marks of having been dictated by mere selfish ambition. There was much in it of proud defiance to the scornful enemies who held him and his rights at nought, and more of deliberate conviction (whether well-founded, or not, is another question) that it was essential to the safety and glory of France. The part of this new order of things, which related to the pomps and forms of sovereignty, was in accordance with the policy which dictated the concordat, and was another manifestation of a tendency to work upon the existing tone of public feeling, instead of labouring to raise public feeling to a higher standard. The re-establishment of the hereditary principle cannot be judged impartially, without a careful reference to the peculiar circumstances of France at the moment. Fouché (a good judge of matters of policy) afterwards, when all seemed to work well, congratulated himself, in confidential discourse, on having advised the measure. "We all perceived," said he, "that the republic could not exist in France: the question, therefore, was to ensure the perpetual removal of the Bourbons; and I believe the only means for so doing was to transfer the hereditary succession of their throne to another family. Had I remained in office, it is probable I might have prevented the conspiracy of Georges and Pichegru; but Bonaparte would still have had to fear the rivalry of Moreau; he would not have been Emperor, and we should still have had to dread the return of the Bourbons, of which, thank God, there is now no fear." Another long and dangerous war was beginning; and, to add to its dangers, the enemies of Napoleon had shewn themselves unobservant, in his case, of that constituted code of honour which is usually observed towards



an avowed enemy. He had just seen the revolution at the mercy of an assassin's dagger; his single life opposed against the return of the exiled family; and the idea then occurred, to stretch his life beyond the term of mortal existence, by the fiction of the perpetual existence of the head of the state, which is implied in the hereditary principle. It was as though, to confound his enemies and the seekers of his life, he had, like the spirit of Banquo, held up a glass wherein the shadows of his line might "stretch out to the crack of doom."

The idea of the empire was first publicly broached in the senate. On the occasion of framing the address of congratulation to the First Consul, on his escape from the late conspiracy, Fouché rose and said, "that in order to destroy the hopes of the conspirators, and to secure the permanent existence of the government after the death of the reigning chief, other institutions were indispensable." The motion was seconded, and was inserted in the address. Napoleon answered the deputation by saying, "that the subject they had suggested required the greatest consideration; that for himself he wanted nothing; but that it was his duty to consider the lot of France, and what the future was likely to produce; and, finally, that he would accept no new title without submitting it to the sanction of the people." A great sensation was produced throughout France by these proceedings. Numerous addresses were presented from all parts of the country, and from the army, echoing the suggestion of the senate.

Napoleon now proposed the three following questions to the council of state for discussion, without his presence:—"Is the hereditary form of government preferable to the elective form? Is it expedient to establish the hereditary form at this particular juncture? In what manner ought the hereditary form of government to be established?" A very long and sharp discussion, evincing great diversity of opinion, ensued upon these questions. A report was at length drawn up, from which the following are extracts:—"That the councillors of state are of opinion that the revolution which commenced in 1789 was not directed against the hereditary principle of the chief magistracy; and if, at a subsequent period, its force was directed against the reigning family, it was solely because that family took up arms against the revolution and its principles. That the nation will further confirm its disinclination to that family, by calling in, and placing at its head, a new family. That the principle of an hereditary chief magistrate is consonant with the manners of the nation, suitable to the population, and consistent with the extent of its dominions. That the proper moment for framing such an institution is when great dangers threaten the country, menacing the person of the First Consul by assassins armed against his life; and when various other evils, springing out of the dangers of war, expose

the head of the state to imminent risk. That the nation accordingly are ready to declare for the hereditary system, and, at the same time, to enter into a guarantee for the security of all those institutions and rights for which their armies have fought." So many amendments to the report were, however, proposed, that at length the council withdrew it, and each member presented his own separate answer direct to the First Consul.

The senate and the tribunate were now called upon by Napoleon to give their opinions on the proposed questions. The legislative body was not then in session. Whilst the debates were thus protracted in the political bodies of the state, so great was the impatience of the military, that the garrison of Paris had resolved to proclaim their chief, as Emperor, at the first review; and Murat, governor of the city, was obliged to assemble the officers at his house, and bind them by a promise to restrain the troops. The spirit of the army at Boulogne was soon afterwards manifested, by their voting the erection of a colossal statue of Napoleon, in bronze, to be placed in the midst of the camp. Every soldier subscribed a portion of his pay for the purpose; but there was a want of bronze. Soult, who presided over the completion of the undertaking, went, at the head of a deputation, to Napoleon, and said, "Sire, lend me the bronze, and I will repay it in enemy's cannon, at the first battle;" and he kept his word.







MARSHAL SOULT.





The motion "that the First Consul should be invested with the hereditary power, under the title of Emperor," was brought forward in the tribunate by M. Curée. It was combated by five or six members; Carnot, in particular, making an eloquent speech against it, which he concluded by declaring that, "though he opposed, on grounds of conscience, the alteration of government which had been proposed, he would, nevertheless, give it his unlimited obedience, should it be adopted by the nation." The measure met with very little opposition in the senate. Volney, Gregoire, Sieyes, and Lajuinais, voted against it; Cabanis and Praslin, with a few others, declined voting. An address was accordingly drawn up, beseeching the First Consul to yield to the wishes of the nation. Meanwhile, registers for the reception of votes were opened in every parish of France, and a return of upwards of three million, five hundred thousand for the measure, and about two thousand against it, shewed that public opinion was in its favour. On the 18th of May, 1804, the members of the senate went in a body from Paris to St. Cloud, to present their address. Cambacérès, as president of the senate, read the speech, and declared the number of votes registered by the people. Having concluded, he proclaimed Napoleon Bonaparte Emperor of the French, the assembled senators immediately responding with a simultaneous shout of "*Vive l'Empereur.*" Napoleon, who was visibly affected, replied in a few words, that "he accepted the empire, in order that he might labour for the happiness of the French." The senate then proceeded to the apartments of Josephine, to congratulate her on her new dignity. She was surrounded by the sisters of Napoleon, whose looks were expressive of satisfaction, mixed with some embarrassment at their sudden elevation to royal rank. The natural grace and dignity of Josephine never failed her on any occasion of her life; and, on this, effectually concealed the sad forebodings of an aching heart. The sound of cannon immediately announced the news to the city of Paris. It created little sensation: there were some illuminations, some cavils, some caricatures and lampoons; but nothing that was present seemed materially altered by what had happened, and the Parisians were tired of discussing abstract principles.

The constitution of the empire was as follows:—The imperial power was declared hereditary in the person of Napoleon, and the male line of his direct descendants. Failing these, Napoleon might adopt the sons or grandsons of his brothers, in such order as he chose. In default of these, Joseph and Louis Bonaparte were declared lawful heirs of the empire; Lucien and Jerome being excluded, because they had married contrary to the wish of Napoleon. The members of the Bonaparte family were declared princes of the blood. The imperial was the sole hereditary power in France. All other offices in the state were elective,

or accorded to merit.\* There were two chambers, the senate and the legislative body. The tribunate was suppressed. The constitution of the council of state remained the same as under the consulate; and the excellence of that constitution supplied, as far as such a void can be supplied, the want of a popular assembly. "In the absence of an effective tribune," says Thibandeu, "which a constitutional government would have given to France, never did the head of an empire possess a council so enlightened, or where all questions relating to administrative and civil order were discussed with more frankness and independence. In the absence of that tribune, which would have expressed public opinion, never was the head of an empire better able to guess what was the truth concerning public opinion, nor better able to read its characters, and to profit sometimes by its correctness, sometimes even by its errors." The council of state was, as before, nominated by the Emperor. The system of election had been remodelled during the consulate, and was continued in the empire. Assemblies of cantons had been instituted, composed of all the domiciliated citizens in each canton. These assemblies nominated the members of the electoral colleges, from amongst whom the members of the legislative body and the senate were to be chosen.

To be eligible as a member of the electoral college of either degree, the possession of property, or the fact of being a member of the legion of honour, was requisite. At every vacancy, the colleges chose two candidates for the vacant office, whether legislator or senator. One of these two candidates was finally chosen by the head of the state. The grand council was an appointment of the empire. It consisted of Joseph Bonaparte, who was named grand elector; Louis Bonaparte, high constable; Cambacères, arch-chancellor; and Lebrun, arch-treasurer. Eighteen generals were raised to the rank of marshals of the empire: they were, Berthier, Murat, Monecy, Jourdan, Masséna, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellermann, Lefevre, Perignon, and Serrurier. Duroc was named grand marshal of the palace; Caulaincourt, master of the horse; Berthier, grand huntsman; and the Count Ségur, a nobleman of the old court, master of the ceremonies. M. Maret was continued in his office of secretary. Bourrienne had been dismissed before Napoleon became consul for life. The cause of his disgrace seems to have been some money transaction, which excited in Napoleon's mind the suspicion that his secretary took advantage of his situation to produce variations in the funds. Napoleon, however, sent for him shortly after the establishment of the empire, and had a long and friendly interview with him.

\* The senate presented a memorial to Napoleon, requesting that the office of senator might be rendered hereditary; but he nullified the proposal.







NAPOLEON DISTRIBUTING CROSSES OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR AT THE  
CAMP OF BOULOGNE.

On the 27th of May, Napoleon received the oath of the senate, the constituted bodies, the learned corporations, and the troops of the garrison of Paris.

Louis XVIII. immediately addressed a protest to all the sovereigns of Europe against the usurpation of Napoleon. Fouché, who was the first that heard of this document, immediately communicated the intelligence to the Emperor, with a view to prepare him for giving timely orders to watch over those who might attempt its circulation; but great was his surprise on receiving directions to have the whole inserted in "The Moniteur" the following morning, where it actually appeared. This was all the notice taken of the matter by Napoleon.

The 14th of July was celebrated this year by a splendid ceremony. The members of the legion of honour took the oath prescribed by the new constitution; and the first distribution of the crosses of the order was made on that day, in the Hotel of the Invalids, the Emperor and Empress appearing in public, for the first time, in regal pomp.

Bourrienne, who was present, and who declares that the enthusiasm of the immense assemblage defies description, details his own feelings very naturally. "What a singular train of ideas," he says, "was called up into my mind, when I beheld my former comrade at the school of Brienne, seated upon an elevated throne, surrounded by his brilliant staff, the great dignitaries of his empire—his ministers and marshals!" Two days afterwards the Emperor left Paris for Boulogne, to preside over the same ceremony in the army. The Emperor's tent was pitched on a rising ground, in the midst of a large plain, where a hundred thousand men were drawn up. The standards taken at Lodi, Arcola, Rivoli, the Pyramids, Aboukir, and Marengo, formed the back ground of the tent: an immense crown of laurels surmounted it. When Napoleon appeared, two thousand drums beat the charge. He pronounced the words of the oath in a loud voice, and was answered by a simultaneous and deafening burst of acclamations from the assembled multitude. The distribution of the crosses then took place. Fortune seemed obedient to him in all things at this time. A sudden storm having arisen, it was reported that part of the flotilla was in danger. He hurried from the hill where he had been stationed; but he had scarcely arrived at the harbour before the weather brightened, as if by enchantment; and he returned to the camp, where the festivities continued. All manner of favourable omens were also found, or fancied, by the soldiers. The remains of a Roman encampment were discovered on the very spot whence the Emperor had addressed them. Some medals of William the Conqueror were also dug up, presaging a certain conquest of England.

It was at this period that an adventure of two English sailors had become the universal talk of the camp. The poor fellows had made



their escape from the dépôt for English prisoners of war at Verdun, and had contrived to subsist at Boulogne till they had constructed a little boat, or rather raft, of small pieces of wood, put together as well as they could manage, with no tools but their knives. It was about four feet wide, and very little longer, and covered with sail-cloth. Seeing an English frigate off the coast, they had perched themselves on their frail float, and put to sea, though nearly certain of being shot if they were taken, or of being drowned if they got off. They had hardly gone a hundred furlongs, when they were perceived by the custom-house



officers, who brought them back. The Emperor, hearing of this extraordinary attempt, ordered the men and their boat-raft to be brought before him. Courage and energy were always irresistible attractions to him. "Is it possible," said he, looking at the sort of nut-shell to which they had trusted their lives, "that you meant to cross the sea in that?" "If your Majesty doesn't believe it," said one of them, "only give us leave, and you shall soon see us afloat." "I will," said the Emperor; "you are bold, enterprising men. I admire courage wherever I meet with it. But you shall not risk your lives. You are at liberty; and I will have you conveyed on board an English ship. When you return to London, say how I esteem brave men, even when they are my enemies." This ostentation, accompanying the generous act, is rather a drawback to admiration; nevertheless, Napoleon not only kept his word, but sent them off with several pieces of gold in their pockets. Rapp, and the aide-de-camps standing round, were not a little astonished at the interest excited by two poor sailors, who would otherwise have been shot as spies.

It was universally believed at Paris, that the ostensible object of the Emperor's visit to Boulogne was only a pretext, and that the invasion of England was to be immediately attempted. The same idea had spread through the army; but, on the contrary, the scheme was farther than ever from its accomplishment. The different squadrons of the flotilla had indeed increased to an immense force, and the army was in the finest condition; but the difficulty of bringing round the ships of war to cover the landing, was more and more apparent, as the unconquerable power of the English navy became more unequivocally expressed, and as the keen foresight of Napoleon perceived signs of an approaching continental war. He had, however, attained two objects by the accumulation of power now effected on the coast. He had kept England in perpetual alarm, and thus occupied a portion of the energies that would otherwise have been employed mischievously against him; and he had concentrated, without exciting suspicion, an immense army, ready to act wherever he might choose, in the event of hostilities being renewed.

Besides attention to the multifarious concerns of the army, several important measures were originated by Napoleon while he remained at Boulogne. He arranged a new form of discipline for the Polytechnic School, which he now placed entirely under military regulations—a very doubtful improvement; the school, however, maintains its reputation to the present day. He also, at this time, instituted the decennial prizes. These were nine in number, of the value of four hundred pounds each, to be given every ten years, dating from the 18th Brumaire, of the year 1799. All works of science, literature, and the arts, all useful inventions, all establishments devoted to the progress of agriculture or manufactures, published, known, or formed in the interval between each term, might contend for these prizes.

It had been arranged that Josephine should meet the Emperor in Belgium, and proceed with him on a tour to the principal cities of that part of the empire. She joined him at the castle of Lacken, which had been repaired, and newly furnished with great magnificence. They proceeded together to Aix-la-Chapelle. Here they received the congratulations of the ambassadors of Austria, Portugal, and Naples, on behalf of their respective sovereigns. Spain had already sent an embassy. The various princes of the German empire paid their court in person. England, Russia, and Sweden stood aloof.

It was during this journey that Napoleon read Madame de Stael's "*Delphine*," which was just published. The work gave him fresh offence, and was the cause of her continued exile from Paris, probably on account of its attacks, open or implied, on the Catholic religion. The remarks which Napoleon made, in his ill humour, are very charac-



teristic. "I do not like women who make men of themselves," said he, "any more than I like effeminate men. There is a proper part for every one to play in the world. What does all this vagrancy of imagination mean? What is the result of it? Nothing. It is all sentimental metaphysics, and disorder of the mind."

Not satisfied with placing himself on a par with the legitimate sovereigns of Europe, in titles and dignities, Napoleon had resolved to outstrip them all in the solemnity of his coronation, which should be distinguished by a circumstance of honour, such as had been beyond the reach of any of them to secure. He determined that no less a dignitary than the Pope himself should crown him; and instead of preparing to set off for Rome for the purpose, as Charlemagne, in his day, had done, he invited Pius VII. to visit Paris. It was from Mentz that the embassy was despatched to negotiate this affair. It was successful. The Pope, indeed, had no choice but to comply; and being a most finished gentleman, he complied with the best grace. The Emperor returned to Paris in October, after an absence of three months.



The Pope left Rome in the beginning of November. He was received everywhere on his journey with the greatest veneration. The precipices of the Alps had been secured by parapets, at the express orders of the Emperor, wherever they could expose the venerable pontiff to danger, or even apprehension. On the 25th of November he reached Fontaine-



bleau. Here he was met by the Emperor, who, to avoid the ceremony of a formal reception of his holiness, had contrived a hunting party in the forest, and accidentally came upon the road on horseback, with his retinue, at the moment the Pope's carriage was arriving. The Emperor dismounted, and, uncovering his head, received his holiness, who immediately alighted with every mark of respect. They then proceeded to the palace of Fontainebleau in the Emperor's carriage. The manœuvre by which Napoleon got over the difficult point of precedence is sufficiently amusing. It is thus given by Savary:—"The Pope had got out at the left door, in his white costume. The ground was dirty: he did not like to step upon it with his white silk shoes, but was obliged to do so at last. The Emperor's carriage, which had been purposely driven up, was advanced a few paces, as if from the carelessness of the driver; but men were posted to hold the two doors open. After the meeting had taken place, the Emperor took the right door, and an officer of the court handed the Pope to the left; so that they entered the carriage by the two doors at the same time. The Emperor naturally seated himself on the right; and this first step decided, without negociation, the etiquette to be observed during the whole time that the Pope was to remain at Paris."

Apartments were appropriated to his holiness in the Tuileries; and the bed-chamber prepared for him was fitted up precisely in the same manner as his own, in the palace of Monte-Cavallo, at Rome. This attention, and other refined marks of respect, on the part of Napoleon, for a potentate on whom he had imposed a great public concession, are creditable to his character. The Parisians, after his example, treated their unaccustomed guest with every possible consideration; and his countenance, figure, and manner, were calculated to increase their good feeling towards him.

On the 1st of December, the lists of votes in favour of the establishment of the hereditary succession of the empire in his family, were publicly presented by the senate to Napoleon. On the following day, 2nd December, 1804, his coronation took place in the cathedral of Notre Dame. The capital was thronged with crowds of visitors from every part of France. The people were represented at the ceremony by deputations of the presidents of the cantons, the presidents of the electoral colleges, and the whole corps of the legislative body, which had been convoked in the month of October; the army, by deputations from every regiment. By all these, increased to a vast multitude of spectators of the highest station in the country, the walls of the splendid old cathedral were clothed with what a spectator has described as "living tapestry," galleries having been erected almost to the roof. The Pope first left the Tuileries; and went in procession to the cathedral, preceded, according to established custom, by his chamberlain on a mule,

which novel sight had nearly proved destructive to all solemnity, by exciting the risibility of the Parisians; but the functionary thus humbly mounted preserved his gravity of countenance so admirably, that he repressed the fatal sound which had impended. The Emperor and Empress, in the same open carriage, traversed Paris, through a great crowd of spectators, who, it is said, looked on the procession rather coldly. They first seated themselves with their backs to the horses, by mistake; and though the error was instantly rectified, it was observed, and said to be "an evil omen." They, and their whole retinue, arrayed themselves in splendid robes in the archbishop's palace, and with the long and gorgeous line of courtiers, marshals, and dignitaries, in gold and rich colours and waving plumes, gained the cathedral by a long gallery, erected for the purpose. At the moment the Emperor appeared in the cathedral, there was one simultaneous shout, which made but one explosion, of "*Vive l'Empereur*." All was performed in order; mass was said, and the crown was blessed by the Pope; but at that point the Emperor ceased to be submissive. Not even the supreme pontiff himself was permitted to place the crown upon the head of Napoleon. It was placed there by his own hand; immediately removed; and again, by his own hand, placed on the head of Josephine; then laid on the cushion, where it had rested before. "This scene," says Norvins, "is a scene of yesterday; yet it belongs not to our age. We can scarcely believe ourselves the contemporaries of events so strange and so unlike our time."

The action which superseded the ceremonial of the high religious functionary and "vicegerent of heaven," however extraordinary, is sufficiently intelligible, and may be regarded as the very apex of character in the doer. He had accomplished everything by his own inherent powers; and now that this, "the topmost round" of all his worldly splendours, should be, even apparently, and in a mere form, conferred upon him by the trembling hand of an individual—an aged Ceremony; one who had not in the slightest degree assisted his rise, or could destroy his position, and whom he had caused to journey from the lofty sanctuary and throne of spiritual dominion to "swell the scene" of his entire ascendancy—seemed idle, absurd, and intolerable to his intensely practical imagination. His action was a direct abnegation of "divine right" and "legitimacy." He felt that he did not receive the crown from any "vicegerent," as the gift from the pontifical hand might be supposed to infer, but that it was the consequence of his own mortal energies and deeds on earth. The act, however, is not likely to have been one of momentary impulse, or impatience, as some writers aver; we should rather conjecture that—as in the case of his first interview with the Pope—the movements of the whole scene had been pre-arranged by Napoleon.





CEREMONY OF THE CORONATION.





The Emperor took his coronation oath with his hand on the Scriptures. *Te Deum* was sung. The heralds proclaimed that "the thrice glorious and thrice august Napoleon, Emperor of the French, was crowned and installed;" and so ended the pageant. "Those who remember having beheld it," says Scott, "must now doubt whether they were waking, or whether fancy had framed a vision so dazzling in its appearance, so extraordinary in its origin and progress, and so ephemeral in its endurance." On the same day Louis XVIII., then living at Calmar, drew up a declaration to the French people, in which he swore "never to break the sacred bond which united his destiny to theirs; never to renounce the inheritance of his ancestors, or to relinquish his rights."

A singular incident, no less characteristic of the chief actor in these events than all that has been recorded, occurred just before the coronation. In detailing it, we must go back to some of those earlier scenes of his life, which the anecdote we are about to relate proves were then rushing into his memory, excited probably by the sight of Josephine, the object of the ardent passion of his youth, now beside him in the robes of an Empress. It will be remembered, that when Josephine accepted him as her husband, he was very poor; neither of them, indeed, were rich enough to keep a carriage, and they frequently walked out together. They had gone one day to the house of M. Raguideau, a lawyer, in whom Josephine placed great confidence, the express purpose of her visit being to acquaint him of her intention to marry the young general of artillery. Napoleon waited for her in an outer room, while she held this conversation. The lawyer strongly dissuaded Madame de Beauharnais from her imprudent marriage. "You are going to take a very wrong step," said he, "and you will be sorry for it. Can you be so mad as to marry a young man who has nothing but his cloak and his sword?" The door of the ante-room was imperfectly closed, and the words reached the young man in question, who had an uncommonly "fine ear." Napoleon never told Josephine that he had heard this piece of advice given to her, which proved as fruitless as advice generally does in such circumstances; nor did she ever mention it to him. Her astonishment was therefore great, when, after putting on the imperial robes, and when they were just on the point of leaving the archbishop's palace to proceed in state to the cathedral, to assume the crown, Napoleon desired that M. Raguideau should be sent for. Still more was she surprised when the low-bowing lawyer appeared, and the Emperor, addressing him abruptly, but with humorous gravity, said, "Well, Raguideau, have I nothing but my cloak and my sword now?" This story, which looks like a fabrication, is, nevertheless, perfectly authentic.

The grand military ceremony of distributing to the army the imperial eagles in lieu of the national colours, took place on the day following the coronation. The deputations of every regiment were then assembled on the Champ de Mars, where Napoleon was seated on a throne, erected in front of the military school, the scene of his boyhood. At a given signal the columns closed, and approached him. He then rose, gave orders for the distribution of the eagles, and then addressed the troops in these words:—"Soldiers, behold your colours! these eagles will always be your rallying-point. They will always be where your Emperor may think them necessary for the defence of his throne and his people. Swear to sacrifice your lives to defend them; and by your courage to keep them constantly in the path of victory,—swear!" Those who were witnesses of the enthusiasm with which this address was answered, have declared their utter inability to convey any impression of it by description. The enthusiasm was not called forth without a cause. On that day Mr. Pitt signed the treaty of Stockholm, and paid a subsidy to Sweden, to enable that country to commence hostilities against France. This was the first step of the new continental war. The ministry of police was re-established at this period, Fouché again receiving the appointment. The Emperor, naturally foreseeing the necessity of his own absence from Paris, in the impending war, thought this subtle statesman might be once more necessary to preserve the public tranquillity, and detect any cabals in favour of the Bourbons.

The year 1804 terminated with the opening of the legislative body; on which occasion the Emperor presided, and delivered a speech. He was warmly applauded when he energetically pronounced the following words: "My object is not to extend the territory of France, but to maintain that territory inviolate."







## CHAPTER XXV.

RUSSIA ASSUMES A HOSTILE ATTITUDE TOWARDS FRANCE—LETTER OF NAPOLEON TO GEORGE III.—COMPLETION OF THE CIVIL CODE—NAPOLEON CROWNED, AT MILAN, AS KING OF ITALY—THIRD COALITION AGAINST FRANCE—FRENCH ARMY ADVANCES ON AUSTRIA—CAPITULATION OF ULM—NAPOLEON ENTERS VIENNA—BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ—RETREAT OF THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER—NAPOLEON GRANTS AN ARMISTICE TO AUSTRIA.



THE year 1805 had scarcely begun, when the Emperor Alexander plainly shewed that his refusal to recognise the new title of Napoleon, was to be followed up by active hostilities against France. Russian fleets menaced Italy, landed troops on the Ionian islands, and appeared to be preparing to act in concert with the English; others passed the Sound and the Dardanelles. Sweden had already manifested ill-will towards Napoleon; Turkey, influenced by

Russia, now refused to acknowledge him. The French ambassadors were obliged to leave the courts of Constantinople and St. Petersburg.

While enemies thus sprung up around France, Great Britain had irritated Spain to the utmost, by committing aggressions against its commerce and shipping. The Spanish government, in consequence, declared war against England, and became the active ally of Napoleon; engaging to aid him with thirty ships of war, and five thousand men.

At this moment, when the coming storm darkened over Europe, Napoleon made an effort to avert its fury, similar to that which he had made six years before. He addressed the King of England by letter, proposing a peace. The time he chose was so far favourable to the chance of success, that, in consequence of the Spanish alliance, his navy was greatly increased, and with it, the greater probability of attempting the long-meditated invasion of England; a peace, therefore, which would have relieved England from the necessity of standing perpetually on its guard, might, under ordinary circumstances, have appeared desirable. But it is scarcely possible to believe that, after all the events of the last war, and of the short peace, Napoleon could expect any amicable result from such an overture. He must have learned before this period, that the sovereigns of Europe warred against him for a principle, which they would never relinquish while the power to contend for its re-establishment remained. Probably the chief object of this letter was to display before the world the true cause of the renewal of war; it is, therefore, not so interesting as his former one, which was written in the sincerity of a belief, which time and experience must have driven from his mind before he wrote the second. He commenced with the words, "Sir, my brother;" sufficient of themselves to irritate a king who had refused to acknowledge his title. The expressions which follow are all forcible and emphatic. "France and England," he says, "abuse their prosperity. They may struggle for ages. But will their governments thus fulfil the most sacred of their duties? And, so much blood uselessly spilt, will it not rise up in accusation against them? I attach no dishonour to taking the first step in this matter. I have sufficiently, I think, proved to the world that I fear none of the chances of war." He concluded with, "May your majesty believe in the sincerity of the sentiments I have expressed, and my desire to give proofs of this sincerity." He was answered by an official dispatch from Lord Mulgrave, secretary of state for foreign affairs, to Talleyrand, acknowledging the receipt, by his majesty, of a letter addressed to him by the "Head of the French Government," and declaring, that Great Britain could not make a precise reply to the proposal of peace intimated in Napoleon's letter, without a previous communication with her allies on the continent, and in particular the Emperor of Russia. War was, therefore, evidently at hand.

Lord Mulgrave's letter was dated the 14th of January. Five days afterwards, the treaty between England and Russia was completed; in which they bound themselves to co-operate in forming a league on the continent, to reduce France to the limits of 1792, by forcing its government to relinquish all the conquests and acquisitions made since that period. A secret assurance was given by Russia that Austria would join this league, and both powers well knew that the neutrality of Prussia depended on the events of the war, and would be turned into hostility against France, should evil fortune attend its arms. Count Cobentzel, minister for Austria, meanwhile remained at Paris, and no outward demonstration of animosity took place; but the proceedings of the French Emperor, and more particularly his increasing ascendancy in Italy, were jealously watched.

When the English ministry brought forward the motion in parliament, that "a sum, not exceeding three million five hundred thousand pounds, be granted to his majesty, to enable him to enter into such engagements, and take such measures, as the exigencies of affairs demand;" the members of the opposition began to question the grounds on which a continuance of hostilities, and of such consequent heavy expenditure, were justified. Mr. Fox decidedly expressed the opinion, that, "instead of declining to treat, we should have offered to France reasonable terms of peace;" while Mr. Grey (afterwards Lord Grey) reminded the House, that thirty millions had already been added to the capital of our debt since the commencement of the war. Loud complaints were also made against the ministry for their sudden attack upon Spain, by which they had given England an open enemy, and presented France with a useful ally. The ministers urged in their defence, that Spain, while pretending neutrality, did in fact furnish arms and money to Napoleon; but they were unable to deny that they had tacitly consented to the treaty by which Spain was bound to these conditions by Napoleon, as the price of its neutrality; and that they had permitted the fulfilment of them for a year; alleging, however, various examples of the like summary proceedings as precedents.

Simultaneously with these events, a well-deserved public honour was rendered to Napoleon, in commemoration of the completion of his great work, the Civil Code. His statue, executed by Chaudet, was placed in the hall of the legislative body, on the 14th of January, with circumstances of great magnificence and solemnity, at which he was himself present, together with the Empress, the imperial family, and all the dignitaries of the state. M. de Vaublanc, as president, afterwards addressed the assembly:—"You have celebrated the completion of the civil code of the French nation," he said, "by an act of admiration and of gratitude. You have decreed a statue to the illustrious prince, by whose firm and constant will this great labour has been carried through



to its termination, while his own great mind has spread the clearest light over this noble part of human institutions. First Consul then, Emperor of the French now; he appears in the temple of the laws, his head encircled with that triumphal crown which victory has so frequently placed there, presaging to him a kingly diadem."



· We are apt to think, and with sufficient reason, that the usual tone of French eulogistic oratory is turgid and extravagant; but no one can refuse a due sympathy with the occasion in question. This code, which now bears his name, was only a portion, however, of the object which the Emperor had in view. "The good produced by the introduction of the 'Code Napoleon' is well known," says Prince Napoleon

Louis Bonaparte, in his late enthusiastic and highly interesting work ("Des Idées Napoléoniennes"); "it had placed many parts of the legislation in harmony with the principles of the revolution, and considerably diminished the number of law-suits, by simplifying causes. But this code did not satisfy the desire of the Emperor; he projected an universal one, which should include all the laws of the country within itself, and which should enable him to proclaim, once for all, as null and void, every law which was not inscribed in that single code. 'For,' added he, when talking on this subject, 'by means of some old edicts of Chilpéric or Pharamond, disinterred for the occasion, there is no one who is able to say, that he is perfectly secure against being duly and lawfully hanged.'" This further work he had not time to accomplish. While regretting that France has been deprived of so great an advantage, we cannot forbear quoting another passage from the recent publication of his nephew. "If," says he, "the soul of Napoleon can still take note of the agitations and judgments which circulate here below, may he not answer, to those who accuse him of any falling short, 'All that I did for the interior prosperity of France, I did in the short intervals of battles; but you, who blame me, what have you done during twenty-four years of profound peace?'"

A superb banquet and ball, given in honour of the Empress, at which the Emperor was also present, followed the ceremony which had taken place in the hall of the legislative body.



The private habits of Napoleon continued to be remarkable for simplicity and arduous attention to business. Some details descriptive of them will be found interesting. They are chiefly taken from the accounts given by M. de Bausset, then prefect of the palace. Every morning at nine o'clock, regularly, the Emperor came out of the interior of his apartments, dressed for the day. The officers of the household were the first admitted, and received from him his different orders. Immediately afterwards the *grand entries* were introduced, consisting of persons of the highest rank, who were entitled to this privilege either by their functions or by special favour. Napoleon addressed each person in turn, and listened good naturedly to all that was said to him: the round being made, he bowed, and every one withdrew. Sometimes those who had any particular request to make, remained alone with him a few minutes after the others. At half an hour after nine the breakfast was served. The prefect of the palace went before him into the saloon where he was to breakfast, and there waited on him, assisted by the first *maitre d'hôtel*. Napoleon breakfasted on a small mahogany stand, covered with a napkin. Temperate as ever man was, the breakfast of the Emperor often lasted not more than eight or ten minutes; but when he felt an inclination to "close the doors," as he sometimes said, laughing, the breakfast lasted long enough, and then nothing could surpass the easy gaiety and grace of his conversation. His expressions were rapid, pointed, and picturesque. He often received, during breakfast time, a few individuals, in whose society he had the greatest pleasure; among whom might be mentioned particularly, Monge, Berthollet, Costay, Denon, his physician Corvisart, and the celebrated David, Gerard, Isabey, Talma, and others.

Having returned to his cabinet, Napoleon applied himself to business, and received the ministers and directors-general, who attended with their portfolios. These different occupations lasted till six in the evening, and were never broken in upon, except on the days of the councils of the ministers, and the councils of state, which latter frequently lasted from nine in the morning till five in the evening. "Napoleon sometimes gave notice of his intention to be at the meeting;" says M. Pelet de la Lozère, "at other times he entered unexpectedly, the sound of the drum on the Tuileries stairs giving the first intimation of his approach. His chamberlain went before, while his aide-de-camp on duty followed, and both took their station behind him. His seat was raised one step above the floor at the end of the room, and remained always in its place, even when he was absent with the army; and on those occasions the arch-chancellor, seated on the right of the vacant chair, presided. Business proceeded but slowly when Napoleon presided; for he sometimes sunk into a profound reverie, during which the discussion of course languished; and at other times he wandered far from the subject. These political



digressions, however, were full of interest, as they often betrayed the internal state of his mind, or let out the secret of his intended projects."

The dinner was regularly served up at six o'clock. At the Tuileries, or at St. Cloud, their majesties dined alone, except on Wednesdays, when the ministers dined with them; and on Sundays, when they were joined by the whole of the imperial family. The dinner consisted but of one course, prolonged by the dessert; the simplest dishes were preferred by Napoleon: the only wine he drank was Chambertin, and he seldom drank it pure, and never tasted spirits or liqueurs. The dinner lasted ordinarily from a quarter of an hour to twenty minutes; and immediately it was over he retired, with the Empress, to the drawing-room, whence, having taken one cup of coffee, he soon returned into his cabinet to pursue his labours; the Empress at the same time descending to her own apartments, where she found the ladies of honour in attendance, and received the visits of her guests. Napoleon often joined this evening circle, sometimes mixing in the conversation with ease and gaiety; sometimes, absorbed in thought, he remained apart in a silence which no one dared to interrupt. Bourrienne tells us that Napoleon possessed the talent of his country for extempore recitation, and was fond of acting as an improvisatore. He would occasionally, on these evenings, give the reins to his vivid imagination and his love of the marvellous, and invent brief romances, which were always of a fearful description. He liked, on these occasions, to have the room dimly lighted. Led away by his subject, he would pace the saloon with hasty strides, the intonations of his voice varying according to the characters he brought on the scene; his action, look, and gesture appropriately accompanying every change in his impassioned and rapidly delivered tale. His auditors had no need to feign terror; he inspired it unavoidably. On one occasion which is described, he produced so violent an excitement as to make some of the ladies shriek with horror; but, like a consummate actor, he continued his recital without appearing to notice the interruption. It was not often, however, that the Emperor remained long among the guests of the drawing-room. He usually left them abruptly, to return to his cabinet, where the officers on duty attended his evening levee, and received his orders for next day.

The uniformity of this life was broken only occasionally, by the theatre, a concert, or the chase. At Fontainebleau, Rambouillet, or Compiègne, where he went to hunt, a tent was always set up in the forest, to which all the party was invited; the ladies coming out in their carriages, and eight or ten persons were usually asked to dine. The whole economy of the household was regulated with the most exact care by the grand-marshal Duroc, superintended by the Emperor. The court was always brilliant and in the best taste; but there was no wasteful expenditure.

"It sometimes happened," says Hazlitt, "that Napoleon, pre-occupied with the affairs of state, rose from breakfast or dinner, for days together, without a word having been said. But such occurrences were rare; and even when his brow was serious and his lips silent, he still shewed himself just, polite, and kind. Few persons (according to the best testimony) have, in private, possessed more equability of temper, and greater gentleness of manners." Without wishing to invalidate this general testimony, some tremendous exceptions are recorded with equal authenticity.



The Pope remained at Paris for some time after the coronation. A coolness arose between him and Napoleon, before his departure, in consequence of a desire, on the part of his holiness, for an accession of territory in return for his services and concessions. But to this the Emperor would on no account agree; his object being, on the contrary, to confine the jurisdiction of the Pope, more and more, to spiritual affairs only, with a view to promoting his favourite object of forming Italy into one undivided state. Pius VII. concealed his discontent, and even consented to give his pontifical services a second time to the imperial family. The infant son of Louis Bonaparte was christened by him at St. Cloud on the 24th of March, 1805, receiving the name of Napoleon Louis. The Emperor acted as godfather to the young prince, who has lately given a testimony of the reverence in which he holds the memory of his illustrious relative, in the work from which we have recently made some extracts.



Napoleon was now about to assume a second crown. A deputation from the Italian republic waited on him, on the 17th of March, and intimated to him by Melzi, their vice-president, the unanimous desire of their countrymen that he, who had been the founder of their republic, should become the monarch of their kingdom. Napoleon accepted the new dignity, declaring, however, that the two crowns of France and Italy should never, except in the present instance, devolve upon the same person; and also, that he himself would only wear that of Italy, until the assured safety of his new subjects should permit him to place it on a younger head. After making the necessary communication to the senate, Napoleon prepared to set out for Milan, to go through the ceremony of another coronation.

Bourrienne describes an interesting interview which he had with the Emperor, at Malmaison, at this period, in which his real sentiments as to Italy were freely expressed. "You know," said Napoleon, "that I set out in a week for Italy. I shall make myself king; but that is but a stepping stone. I have greater designs respecting Italy. It must be a kingdom, comprising all the transalpine states, from Venice to the maritime Alps. The junction of Italy with France can only be temporary; but it is necessary, in order to accustom the nations of Italy to live under common laws. None of them will now acknowledge the superiority of another; and yet, Rome is, from the recollections connected with it, the natural capital of Italy. To make it so, however, it is necessary that the power of the Pope should be confined within limits purely spiritual. I cannot now think of this; but I will reflect upon it hereafter. At present, I have only vague ideas on the subject, but they will be matured in time; and then, all depends on circumstances. What was it told me, when we were walking, like two idle fellows, as we were, in the streets of Paris, that I should one day be master of France? My wish—merely a vague wish: circumstances have done the rest. It is, therefore, wise to look into the future, and that I do. All these little states will insensibly become accustomed to the same laws; and when manners shall be assimilated and enmities extinguished, then there will be an Italy, and I will give her independence. But for that I must have twenty years, and who can count on the future?" Could he who uttered this expression now look out from his sea-beat grave, he would, indeed, have cause to repeat the ejaculation. But, amidst the degradation and gloom of enslaved Italy, he might yet see the faint streaks and gleams of her renovating vigour slowly breaking through the dense, distant, and still heavy horizon.

The Emperor, accompanied by the Empress, left Paris, for Milan, on the 2nd of April. On arriving at Troyes, attended only by two or three officers, he visited Brienne. Here, among the scenes of his boyhood, he



forgot, for twenty-four hours, the empire of France and the kingdom of Italy. He went over every place, and remembered every one connected with the military school, even to the old servants, whose visible decay in their advancing years affected him much.

In contemplating a scene fraught with the memories of other days, the changes its external appearance has undergone present themselves forcibly to our feelings, even in the minutest details; but seldom or ever does it occur to us that we ourselves are changed, far more, perhaps, than the walls and streets, the hills and fields, the old tree-trunks and winding lanes. Without including those changes which may, or may not, have transpired in our particular feelings and general tone of thought, how little of the same external appearance often remains in those who notice with pain the absence of certain inanimate things, associated with former years, and who dwell on the slightest changes observable in their visible forms. The Emperor Napoleon—after long absence, employed in rapidly alternating scenes of revolutions, wars, deep policies, enlarged designs, splendours, and triumphs, and now on his way to the assumption of a second regal diadem—visits the scenes of his early youth, and feels a saddened wonder at every trifling event and local change which has occurred to them during the same interval. The slight-limbed, spare-bodied, diminutive boy at Brienne, with lean and thoughtful face, and long straight hair, bearing—beneath a cold, uncommunicative, solitary habit and demeanour—the secret germ of fiery ardours and concentric will, presented the subject for a portrait such as rarely occurs to task the artist's hand; an adequate representation, perhaps, defying the powers of any single point of view, might have required the several labours of both painters and sculptors, more especially in latter years. Of the early periods, however, no sort of authentic likeness or sketch is probably extant; and we are, therefore, left to imagine, from vague verbal accounts, and from subsequent portraiture, what the face and general expression must have been, of the youth who was destined to revolutionise the greater part of Europe, and change the chronological emblems seated upon so many of her thrones. The next phase in the personal appearance of Napoleon, may be viewed with his first possession of command, and successful display of character and military genius and skill, at the siege of Toulon. We should think that the figure in the engraving of "*Batterie des Hommes sans Peur*," must present a very close approximation to his external appearance at the time. This figure represents a slight, sharp-cut outline, hard as if shaped from steel—the attenuated bodily substance seeming almost as impermeable—with a set look of will, fixed in its view and purpose, as though it had settled into a metallic defiance of all possible consequences, and seeking by its very spirit (the passionate strength of self-deceiving mortality!) to overcome

the destiny which is poured in a hail of death-shot upon the heads of all around, in their frightfully close opposition to the enemy's batteries. Again, we find a change in the personal appearance of Napoleon when he had become general of the army of Italy; but not so much in figure or face as in expression. To the cool self-possession, and settled purpose of look and bearing, for which he was previously remarkable, was added the ease, no less than the distant air of habitual and unquestionable authority, in one who had ceased to lend his hand, except on extraordinary occasions, to the details of war, or open his mind to share its councils. But, without any essential change in physiognomical and general external appearance, a considerable difference, in a pictorial sense, was presented by Napoleon during the campaign in Egypt. Up to this time, he had worn his hair long; and, if we are to credit the various portraits, in loose ringlets, or careless waves; but the terrible heat of the climate quickly warned him of the disadvantage as to comfort, besides the dangers of a brain fever, and his long locks were forthwith cut close to his head. He ever after wore his hair very short: its subsequent thin quantity, indeed, would lead us to conjecture that the influence of the climate of Egypt had rendered his future appearance, in this respect, involuntary. Napoleon was extremely spare-bodied and sinewy, up to about the age of five or six and thirty; but, after attaining the imperial dignity, his presentiment as to corpulency began to be realised. Notwithstanding this tendency, however, no less unfavourable to symmetry than health, his person was greatly admired by artists, as displaying many fine proportions, especially in the beauty of the hands, and the legs and feet. Of the fine classical character of his head and features, little need be said, as the pictures, and particularly the busts of him, may be considered sufficiently correct data for the studies of physiognomists, and for general judgment; there can be no doubt, however, of the truth of the statements of several who were long accustomed to be near him, under many extraordinary, no less than ordinary circumstances, that of the rapid versatility and marked characters of expression, no painter or sculptor could convey any adequate idea. But of his power, under peculiar circumstances, of "discharging all expression from his face," and thus presenting a pale and solemn blank to the scrutinizer, as of *something past*, an "unknown" sculpture from the antique would perhaps be the best comparison; while of his habitual, fixed calm, amidst great tumults, the mask, taken from his face after his death, may give, we should imagine, a tolerably correct impression; and one—by its countless associations, no less than its isolated fact—not easily to be forgotten.

Proceeding to Lyons, the Emperor and Empress were received with all the magnificence that rich city, the trade of which had been



raised by Napoleon from something like ruin, could display in their honour. At Turin, they were met by the Pope, and remained there some days. They also rested for a short time at Alessandria; and, while there, Napoleon formed the resolution, which he afterwards carried into effect, to convert that city into a great military depôt and fortified place, of immense strength, for which its natural advantages afforded every



facility. On the route to Milan, the Emperor visited the field of battle on which he had re-conquered Italy five years before. He collected all the troops in that part of the country, to the number of thirty thousand, on the plain of Marengo, and appeared among them on horseback, in the same coat and hat which he had worn in the action; and which—with that strong tendency to experience pleasure in the association of memory, thought, and feeling, with visible and tangible objects, place, and time, for which he was remarkable—he had brought from Paris for this express



purpose. It was observed that the moths had paid no more respect to the dress thus suggestive of heroic deeds, than to any common-place garment, for it was musty and full of holes; but this did not prevent Napoleon from wearing it. He reviewed the troops, and distributed crosses of the legion of honour, with the same ceremonies which had been observed on the Champ de Mars, and the same return of enthusiastic devotion on the part of the troops. Fresh recollections of Desaix, the friend whom he had lost on this very spot, arose with the scene. He had already erected a monument in the hospital of the Great St. Bernard, to the memory of the brave who fell at Marengo. He now resolved that the remains of Desaix should be carried to the same spot, and deposited beneath the monument, on the occasion of its solemn inauguration, which he intended should take place, under the direction of Denon. He gave orders to this effect, and formed a small column of men, chosen from every regiment of Italy, together with a civil deputation of Italians, to carry the honoured remains from Milan to St. Bernard. Savary alone, to whom Napoleon had confided the charge of embalming the body, after the battle, knew where it had since remained; he, therefore, together with Denon, went to the monastery in Milan, which he well recollected, and where, in a sacristy, they found it, "in the same place," says Savary, "and in the same state in which I had left it some years before, after having had it embalmed, then put into a leaden coffin, then into one of copper, and lastly the whole enclosed in a wooden one. Since that time, the remains of General Desaix have reposed on the summit of the Alps."

On the 8th of May, the Emperor made his third grand entry into Milan. He was received with acclamations, and the greatest demonstrations of joy. The first event of importance after his arrival was the incorporation of Genoa with the French empire, an enlargement of its territory which excited the indignation of all the hostile powers of the continent. The acquisition, like that of the crown of Italy, was made to appear a gift. A deputation, headed by Durazzo, the Doge of Genoa, waited on Napoleon, with a request that he would incorporate the Ligurian republic with his empire. The political reasons by which he justified his acceptance of this *request*, will be found in portions of his reply: "The spread of liberal ideas could alone have given to your government that splendour which encircled it for many ages; but I have already attained the conviction that you are unable, alone, to do anything worthy of your forefathers. Everything has changed: the new principles of the dominion of the seas which the English have adopted, and forced other nations to adopt; the right of blockade, which they are able to extend at their pleasure, and which is only another term for extinguishing at their will the commerce of all

people; these circumstances offer you nothing but isolation in your independence. Where maritime independence is no longer possessed by a commercial people, the necessity of ranging themselves under a more powerful flag commences. I will realise your wish. I will unite you with my great people." The union was immediately effected, and the Doge of Genoa became a senator of France.



The coronation took place in the cathedral of Milan (which owed its completion to Napoleon), on the 26th of May; Cardinal Caprara officiating on this occasion, as the Emperor did not think fit to exact another act of condescension from the Pope, to whom the near neighbourhood of so powerful a sovereign could not be a matter of gratulation. The iron crown of the Lombard kings was used on the occasion. Napoleon, as he had done at Paris, took it with his own hand from the altar, and, placing it on his head, uttered the appointed form of words with which it was always assumed by its ancient owners. "God has given it me. Let him beware who would touch it." The order of the iron crown, with these words for its motto, arose out of this ceremony.



The Emperor remained at Milan till the 10th of June; when (leaving Eugene Beauharnais, now his adopted son, as viceroy) he left the city, and, accompanied by the Empress, proceeded to visit the principal scenes of his former triumphs in Italy. Marshal Jourdan, with forty thousand men, waited his arrival at the camp of Castiglione; and here he made another distribution of crosses of the legion of honour to that division of the army. Proceeding by Peschiera, Verona, and the impregnable Mantua, the Emperor arrived at Bologna. Here the Marquess de Gallo met him, and made, on the part of Naples, fresh solicitations for a neutrality, and protestations of its strict observance. Here also the state of Lucca became, by solicitation, an appendage to the imperial family. Napoleon gave it for sovereign, his eldest sister, the Princess Eliza, afterwards grand duchess of Tuscany. She was a woman of strong talents and great energy of disposition; considerably resembling her brother. She had offended him by marrying Bacciochi, a native of Corsica, and only a captain of artillery; but seeing the thing was done, Napoleon promoted her husband, and gave these extensive territories to his sister, to whom he well knew he might safely confide them. Bacciochi shared her honours, but without interfering with her authority. She is acknowledged to have governed both with vigour and beneficence, having carried out important improvements in works of utility, and encouraged education and the arts. She retained her sovereignty until the downfall of the empire. The chief accusations against her are, that she was too fond of luxury, and encouraged a plurality of lovers; so that she acquired the name of the "Semiramis of Lucca." After visiting Turin, where he organised the university, the Emperor and Empress turned towards France, and reached Fontainebleau on the 11th of July; whence they proceeded to Paris.

The din of war fast succeeded to the fêtes and splendours of Italy. Napoleon visited the camp at Boulogne, almost immediately upon his return to France, and though he well knew the pressing need of his army on the continent, practised the troops in all the evolutions of the descent on England, in order to deceive his enemies. While still at Boulogne, he received, almost simultaneously, the intelligence that the French admiral, Villeneuve, had utterly failed to bring his fleet round to the Channel, and was blockaded by the English in a port of Spain; and that an Austrian army, of ninety thousand men, had suddenly invaded the neutral territory of Bavaria, and compelled the electoral court to leave Munich, and take refuge at Wurtzbourg. Either of these events was sufficient to break off, at once, the projected invasion of England. The Emperor had, in a great degree, penetrated the schemes of the allied powers, but was not prepared for the sudden assumption of arms by Austria, without any declaration of war; a



measure which Austria justified by referring to the increasing encroachments of France, in Italy. A third coalition was now formed against Napoleon. England paid a large subsidy to Russia; while Russia raised four great armies, consisting in all of one hundred and eighty thousand men. Of these, one hundred thousand were to march into Germany, to co-operate with the Austrians; a smaller division, then in Corfu, was to land in Naples, and advance for the purpose of acting in concert with the Archduke Charles; another, in conjunction with the Swedish army, to retake Hanover; the fourth, to observe Prussia, enforcing its neutrality, or, if possible, insisting on active hostilities against France, on the part of that power. The Austrian army, which had invaded Bavaria, was commanded by General Mack; the Archduke Charles was marching in force upon the Adige.

Napoleon was perfectly prepared for this tremendous combination of enemies, though taken by surprise at their sudden attack. In the excitement of the moment, he sent for M. Daru, then acting as intendant-general of the army. The Emperor was traversing the room with hasty steps when he entered: "Daru," said he, when he observed his presence, "place yourself there, listen to me, and write." The Emperor then, without once stopping or even hesitating, dictated the entire campaign, now celebrated in the annals of war under the name of the "campaign of Austerlitz." He fixed the departure of every separate



corps of the army of Boulogne, as well as that which occupied Hanover and Holland, towards the east and south of France; the order of the marches, their length, the places at which the different columns should converge and re-unite, the surprises and attacks on the enemy, with the different movements to be expected of the enemy—all was foreseen, and a calculation made for every different probability. Such was the extraordinary correctness and precision evinced in this plan, that the army, which moved from an expanded line of two hundred leagues in extent, and advanced by a route of three hundred leagues in length, followed their original directions, day by day, and place by place, as far as Munich. Beyond that capital, the times indicated in the plan, alone required alteration; the places were exactly retained, and every movement prescribed was attended with success. Perhaps there has never been displayed a more wonderful instance of clearness of head and power in practical calculations.

The power which he exercised over his soldiers arose from other qualities, no less important to his wonderful achievements in war. "Napoleon," says General Foy, "had, at the age of six-and-thirty, the imposing attitude of old Frederick. He went through the ranks on foot, and at a slow pace. The grandees of the court and the army kept behind at a considerable distance, that there might be no intermediate person between the Emperor and the soldiers. Every one approached him freely, and related to him the history of his grievances and his pretensions. He looked at everything, answered every one, and on the spot satisfied well-founded claims. The cheerfulness of his look shewed that he was amidst his family. On those days, favours were showered upon the brave, and lessons of discipline given to the generals, sometimes to the colonels, but never lower. The troops manœuvred; and Napoleon always taught the most skilful some new secret. After the review, the oracles which had issued from the lips of the master of the art, were repeated in the camp. The men knew by heart the burning proclamations, in which so few words comprised such heroic presages. On the approach of danger, what was felt for him was more than admiration; he was worshipped, as if he had been the tutelar deity of the army."

The forces of the allies might be computed at about three hundred thousand men; the disposable force of France, then under arms, consisted of two hundred and thirty-five thousand,—one hundred and sixty thousand of whom, composing the great army collected on the coast, were destined to be commanded by the Emperor in person, and were divided into seven corps, under Bernadotte, Davoust, Ney, Soult, Lannes, Augereau, Marmont, and the cavalry under Murat. Masséna occupied the north of Italy with fifty thousand men, and Gouvion St. Cyr the kingdom of Naples, with five-and-twenty thousand.



The "army of England" now received the name of the "grand army:" the camp was broken up, and the different divisions were immediately in full march towards the Rhine. Duroc was at the same time sent to Berlin to negotiate the continued neutrality of Prussia.

The Emperor returned to Paris without delay, and there laid before the senate the state of the army, and announced the commencement of hostilities. The senate immediately voted a levy of eighty thousand conscripts from the class of 1806, and the organisation of the national guards for active service. The mission of Duroc, at the same time, proved successful. The King of Prussia maintained an army of a hundred thousand men to preserve his neutrality; but the continuance of this neutrality depended on the events of the war.

On the 24th of September, the Emperor quitted Paris, accompanied as far as Strasburg by Josephine. Here they separated. The Emperor put himself at the head of his army, and crossed the Rhine on the 1st of October. He was immediately joined by the electors of Baden and Bavaria, who placed their forces at his disposal; and soon afterwards, (through a timely and courteous negociation) by the Duke of Wurtemberg, the husband of the Princess Royal of England. Napoleon slept two nights in their palace; and it was on this occasion that the duchess wrote home in terms of surprise at finding "Bonaparte so polite and agreeable a person." Those, in this country, who remember the hideous monstrosity which their imaginations conceived of him, will understand the Duchess of Wurtemberg's "surprise." We may here remark, that with the children in England, the frightful idea of "Boney" was instilled at the tenderest age, and many a little child has had its rest broken by night, and has trembled to be left alone in the day, from the dread inspired by the deformed images of the "Corsican Monster," as represented in toys and picture-books, and by the graphic wisdom of nurses and grandmammas. With the elder youths, and with the great mass of the uneducated, the caricatures in the shop windows produced an effect, corresponding with the monstrous and ridiculous figure they invented, and the extreme cleverness of their execution.

The Emperor now began a series of grand manœuvres, and partial actions, requiring consummate skill, with a view to the destruction of the great Austrian army under General Mack. The precipitation with which the Austrians had opened the campaign, deceived, perhaps, by the apparent intention of Napoleon to attempt the invasion of England, enabled him to operate against them before the possibility of the junction of the Russian army, now marching towards Germany under the Emperor Alexander in person. Napoleon entirely succeeded in his first attempt, which was, to deceive Mack as to the point at which he meant to enter Germany. Supposing that the advance of the French was



to be made by the defiles of the Black Forest, the Austrian general left Bavaria behind him; and approaching the frontiers of France, fortified himself with great care in Ulm, Memingen, and behind the line of the Iller and Danube. While Mack thus expected the attack upon his front, Napoleon passed all the divisions of the French army across the Rhine to the north of his position, and turning his flank, entirely occupied Bavaria, and placed himself between the Austrian army and Vienna. Continuing his operations, he surrounded that army with a complete circle of French troops.

In order to accomplish this masterly series of movements, Napoleon was obliged to violate the neutrality of Prussia, by passing Bernadotte's division over a part of its territory. He well knew and weighed the danger, but decided that it must be encountered; rightly judging, that although he should irritate the king to a high pitch by such an act, yet if he succeeded in the object of the war, the offence must be forgiven; and if he failed, the king would not want some other pretext to quarrel with him. The directions given to Bernadotte are characteristic:—"Avoid delay: make many protestations in favour of Prussia; shew as much attachment and respect for the country as possible; then march across the territory with rapidity, alleging the impossibility of doing otherwise; for indeed that impossibility is real." All these precautions did not succeed in preventing the King of Prussia from making loud and bitter complaints; and the Russians were, in consequence, permitted to march across his dominions; nevertheless, the object which Napoleon had in view by the movement was effected.

No sooner did Mack perceive the situation in which he was placed, than he made several desperate attempts to break the circle of his foes, but was repulsed with great loss at every point; several actions, which would have obtained in former times the names of great battles, were fought in this manner. Among these may be mentioned the occasion when four thousand Austrians laid down their arms, at Jungingen, to General Dupont; and Memingen, a small town, to the south of Ulm, with a garrison of six thousand, capitulated to Marshal Soult. The circle now closed in, more and more nearly. The Archduke Ferdinand, who had remained with General Mack, now desperately cut his way, with six thousand cavalry, through the French line, and escaped to Egra, in Bohemia. By the 13th of October, Ulm was closely invested: the French army had already made twenty thousand prisoners, and saw the remainder of the great Austrian army at their mercy.

On that day, Napoleon (who expected that Mack would rouse himself with one last effort to avoid a surrender) made an exciting address to the troops, on the bridge of the Lech, amid the most intense cold, the ground being covered with snow, and the troops sunk to the knees in mud.



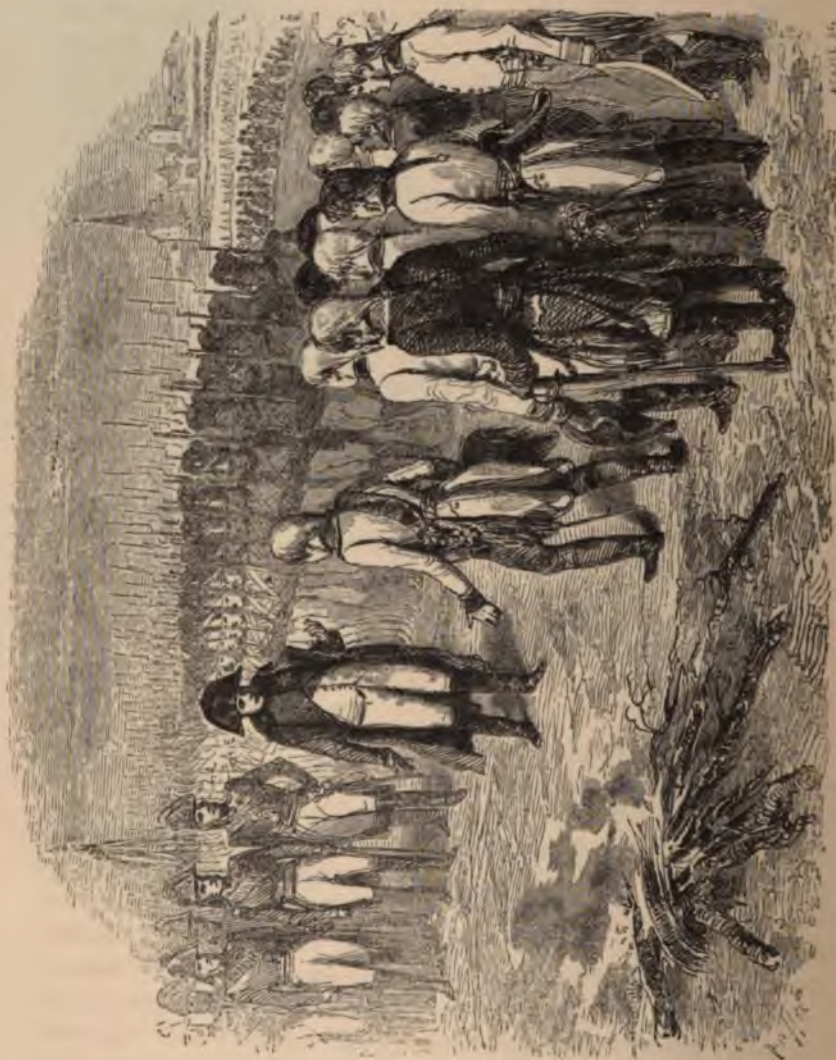
He warned them to expect a great battle, and explained to them the desperate condition of the enemy. He was answered with acclamations, and repeated shouts of "Vive l'Empereur." In listening to his exciting words, the soldiers forgot their fatigues and privations, and were impatient to rush into the fight.

Bernadotte entered Munich on the 14th of October, taking eight hundred prisoners. On the same day, Marshal Ney forced the strong position of Elchingen, taking three thousand prisoners and many pieces of cannon; and the Emperor's head-quarters were fixed there, in the evening. The French soldiers were in a state of great excitement from these rapid successes, and were with difficulty restrained.

From the height of the Abbey of Elchingen, Napoleon now beheld the city of Ulm at his feet, commanded on every side by his cannon; his victorious troops ready for the assault, and the great Austrian army cooped up within the walls. He expected a desperate sally, and pre-







CAPITULATION OF ULM.

pared the soldiers for a general engagement; but four days passed without any movement whatever. Meanwhile, his own troops clamoured for the assault, but he chose to wait in vigilant patience for the result. A scene of horrible carnage and the probable destruction of a fine city would have been the consequences of his acting differently; being what he would have called "unnecessary evils," and therefore criminal in his eyes. The weather continued dreadful; the rain fell incessantly, and the soldiers were often up to their knees in mud. The Emperor only kept his feet out of the water in his bivouac, by means of a plank. He was in this situation when Prince Maurice Lichtenstein was brought before him, with a flag of truce from General Mack. The looks of the prince evidently shewed that he did not expect to have found the Emperor there in person; otherwise it is probable he would not have brought such a proposition as that which he delivered. He came commissioned to treat for the evacuation of Ulm, with permission for the Austrian army to return to Vienna. The Emperor could not help smiling as he listened to him. "I have not forgotten Marengo," he replied; "I suffered M. de Melas to go, and in two months Moreau had to fight his troops, in spite of the most solemn promises to conclude peace. You will be forced to surrender, for want of provisions, in eight days. The Russians have scarcely reached Bohemia. There is the capitulation of your general at Memingen, his whole garrison becoming prisoners of war: carry it to General Mack; I will accept no other conditions." The same evening General Mack sent his surrender to the Emperor, and on the following morning the capitulation was signed.

The French army was drawn up in order of battle on the heights above Ulm to receive the surrender, according to the conditions, on the 20th of October. The rain had ceased, and the day was bright and clear. The gates of the city opened: the Austrian army, to the number of thirty-six thousand men, led by sixteen generals, besides General Mack, the commander-in-chief, advanced in silence. They slowly filed off, and corps by corps, laid down their arms in an appointed place, and then retired to the rear of the French army; while the Austrian generals, one by one, collected on a little hill where the Emperor was posted, in front of the centre of his army, by the side of a large fire which he had ordered to be lighted. He enforced the strictest silence on his troops while this ceremony, so painful to their enemies, continued; and instantly ordered out of his presence one of his own generals, whom his quick ear caught repeating some witticism on the occasion. He received the conquered generals with great respect, and addressed many remarks to them; but his auditors were too much cast down to reply, and the conversation was all on his side. All the officers were allowed to return home, on giving their word of honour not to serve against France until a general exchange

of prisoners should take place. A hint that this favour would be refused if the surrender were delayed, had been very opportunely thrown out. The men were marched into France, and so great was the number of prisoners already made in this campaign (amounting, it is computed, to fifty thousand in all), that the Emperor adopted the plan of distributing them throughout the agricultural districts of France, where their work in the fields supplied the place of the conscripts required for his army. The experiment was found to succeed admirably well, with the docile habits of the Germans and the good humour of their French employers. The unfortunate General Mack was accused of treachery by his government, immediately immured in a state dungeon, and would undoubtedly have paid for his misfortunes with his life, had not Napoleon made his pardon one of the stipulations of the treaty which followed shortly. It does not appear that he was guilty of anything worse than want of skill and presence of mind. Mack was prisoner of war in France in the year 1799. A most remarkably accurate opinion of him was then delivered by Napoleon, who allowed him to live at Paris on parole. It is recorded by Bourrienne, in detailing the events immediately after the 18th Brumaire:—"Mack," said the First Consul, "is a man of the lowest mediocrity I ever saw in my life; he is full of self-sufficiency and conceit, and believes himself equal to anything. He has no talent. I should like to see him some day opposed to one of our good generals; we should then see fine work. He is a boaster, and that is all; he is really one of the most silly men existing; and, *besides all that, he is unlucky.*" No doubt this correctly pre-conceived and characteristically expressed opinion of the adversary he had to cope with, influenced the measures of the Emperor in the campaign of Ulm. This campaign is perhaps unexampled in the history of warfare, for the greatness of its results, in comparison with the smallness of the expense at which they were obtained. Of the French army, scarcely fifteen hundred men were killed and wounded; while the Austrian army of ninety thousand men was nearly annihilated; all, with the exception of fifteen thousand who escaped, being killed, wounded, or prisoners; and having lost, also, two hundred pieces of cannon and ninety flags.

Rumours of the approach of the Russians, headed by the Emperor Alexander in person, now came fast and frequent. The French army was put in motion towards the Iser and the Inn, on the 21st of October, after the publication of a masterly proclamation by the Emperor. Napoleon entered Munich, the capital of his ally the Elector of Bavaria, on the 24th. The city was illuminated on the occasion. His army crossed the Inn on the 27th, and reached the Danube at Lintz; the broken remains of the Austrian army, and the advanced guard of the Russians, vainly endeavouring to oppose its progress. All the bridges



had been burned by the Russians. At a review of the dragoons at this period, one of them, named Marente, was presented to the Emperor, as having saved the life of his captain at the bridge of the Lech, although the latter had cashiered him from his rank of subaltern officer only a few days before. Napoleon presented him with the eagle of the legion of honour. "I only did my duty," answered the dragoon; "my captain cashiered me for some faults of discipline, but he knows I have always



been a good soldier." At Lintz, the Emperor received intelligence that the army of Italy, under Masséna, had conquered the Archduke Charles at Caldiero; and, having crossed the Adige, had forced him to retreat towards Vienna. Here, also, he received a flag of truce from the Emperor of Austria, with proposals for an armistice, but he would not listen to it for a moment; the expedient for gaining time, and permitting the junction of the Russians and the archduke, was too evident. The imperial family of Austria fled for the second time before the victorious advance of Napoleon. The French army safely crossed the Danube, and on the 31st of October entered Vienna. The capital of the proudest race of sovereigns in Europe, was now in the possession of Napoleon.

This rapid occupation of Vienna would have been a little retarded but for a daring exploit achieved by Lannes and Murat, who contrived to prevent the destruction of the bridge of the Thabor. The following account is given in the words of Lannes himself. "I was walking with

Murat, on the right bank of the Danube, when we observed on the left bank some works going on, the evident object of which was to blow up the bridge. Having arranged our plan, we returned to give orders, and I entrusted the command of my column of grenadiers to an officer, on whose courage and intelligence I could rely. I then returned to the bridge, accompanied by Murat and two or three other officers. We advanced unconcernedly, and entered into conversation with the commander of a post in the middle of the bridge. We spoke to him about *an armistice which was to be speedily concluded*. While conversing with the Austrian officers, we contrived to make them turn their eyes towards the left bank, and then, agreeably to the orders we had given, my column of grenadiers advanced on the bridge. The Austrian cannoniers on the left bank, seeing their officers in the midst of us, did not dare to fire, and my column advanced at a quick pace. Murat and I, at the head of it, gained the left bank. All the combustibles prepared for blowing up the bridge, were thrown into the river, and my men took possession of the batteries erected for the defence of the bridge-head. The poor devils of Austrian officers were perfectly astounded when they were told they were my prisoners." How these Austrian officers could have suffered themselves to be approached thus "unconcernedly," while engaged in warlike operations, is not very clearly made out.

Napoleon took up his residence at the imperial palace of Shœnbrunn, where he received the submission of the authorities of the city. An immense quantity of military stores, arms, and ammunition fell into his hands; and his triumphant success induced many about him to urge his concluding a peace; but he well knew that the Russians must be defeated, or must come to decisive terms with him, before any peace would be observed. Appointing General Clarke governor of Vienna, he made ready, without loss of time, to advance to the encounter with these formidable enemies.

Murat and Lannes had pursued the Austro-Russian army, and driven it into Moravia. Ney had made himself master of the Tyrol, effectually preventing the junction of the Archduke Charles with the Russians. Augereau had advanced from France with a large reserve, and, occupying Swabia, secured the rear of the great French army, while he at the same time vigilantly watched the motions of Prussia. The army of the Archduke Charles, slowly retreating before Masséna, by the passes of the Carinthian mountains, reached Hungary, where it was joined by that of the Archduke John, driven out of the Tyrol. To rally their forces round the standard of the Emperor Alexander, was now the object of the Austrian princes; but Napoleon did not give them an opportunity; he had resolved to bring matters to a decision without delay; and accordingly left Vienna early in November, and advanced to Znaim.





Partial actions with the Russians were now of frequent occurrence. In one of these, a portion of Marshal Mortier's division received a severe check, and lost three eagles; in the others, the French were generally victorious. They had conceived a great contempt for their adversaries from the stupidity of their countenances. "But stupidity," says Hazlitt, "has its advantages as well as wit. If a man strikes his hand against a piece of wood or stone, he will be the sufferer." The Emperor Alexander had reached Wischau by the middle of October with his main army. General Kutusoff joined him there, with the second Russian army on the 28th.

Napoleon had already determined the site of his field of battle, and was rapidly concentrating the different divisions of his army upon Brunn, in Moravia. In these manœuvres, he purposely made a retrograde movement, which gave an appearance of vacillation and apprehension to his proceedings, and caused the great Russian army to assume the offensive, and advance towards the position he had chosen. At the news that they were in march, Napoleon brought up all his troops, and formed his line of battle on the plain, about two leagues from Brunn. He walked his horse over the heights, in front of his position, often pausing to have the distances measured, and frequently desiring the officers around him to examine the ground well; saying, "you will have a part to act upon it." The right of his army rested on the lake of Menitz; the left on the foot of the mountains. A single small hill, called the Centon, exactly in front of General Suchet's division, was strongly fortified with fourteen pieces of cannon.



At the same time that he executed the retrograde movement which placed him on the intended field of battle, Napoleon despatched Savary to the head-quarters of the Emperor Alexander to treat for an armistice, with a view to preventing the effusion of blood in the tremendous conflict that impended. It is usual with writers who like to enlarge on Napoleon's passion for fighting, to treat this as a piece of sheer dissimulation; but knowing as he did that the battle would be decisive, and must be fiercely contested, nothing seems more natural than that he should attempt a negotiation, instead of encountering the perilous chance. He was certain, however, in case of failure in this treaty, to increase that self-confidence which had already caused the advance of the Russian emperor, and on which he calculated throughout his plan of the campaign. Alexander was then only six and twenty, and was surrounded by a set of presumptuous inexperienced young noblemen, who talked loud of the necessity of "clipping the ambition of France," and believed that the fate of Napoleon was now completely in their power. No result ensued from the attempt to treat. Prince Dolgorouki, the chief aide-de-camp of the Emperor Alexander, appeared with a message in reply; but assumed so rude and offensive a deportment, as he insisted on the necessity of the cession of Belgium and Italy, that Napoleon, who had gone to meet this young upstart, from his bivouac, where he had been asleep on some straw, was irritated almost beyond endurance, and was heard to say, as they parted, "If you were even on the heights of Montmartre I would answer such insolence only by cannon balls." As the Emperor returned towards his horse, striking the lumps of earth with his switch, he passed an old sentinel who was standing at ease, his musket between his knees, and filling his pipe. Napoleon looking him in the face said, "Those Russians fancy they have nothing to do but to swallow us up!" The old soldier immediately replied, "Oho, that won't be such an easy job,—we'll stick ourselves right across." This sally made the Emperor laugh, and soon resuming his composure, he mounted his horse and rode off towards head-quarters.

The following day was occupied in active preparations for the approaching battle. It was the 1st of December, 1805, the day before the anniversary of Napoleon's coronation. The Russian army was seen arriving the whole day. It will be remembered that Napoleon had placed his army in the plain, leaving the heights to the Russians. He did so, in the conviction that their confidence of success would make them abandon their position, in order to descend upon his army and turn its right flank, for which manœuvre on their part he had prepared. It was with an indescribable sensation of triumph that he saw them, towards evening, from the elevated post where he stood, commence their preparations for the anticipated movement, by extending their line so as

to outflank his army : and, finally, placing their left wing at too great a distance from the centre. On witnessing this realisation of his ideas, he repeated several times to the marshals who surrounded him, "Before to-morrow night that army will be in my power." He had passed the whole day on horseback, and had himself placed every division in its position, inspecting each regiment in turn. All his marshals dined with him, and received his minute and careful directions for the next day. He then lay down to rest on the straw, in a hut which the soldiers had



made for him, and fell into so deep a sleep, that Savary was obliged to shake him in order to wake him up, to listen to a report which he had ordered to be brought to him. Rousing himself, he then proceeded to visit all the bivouacs of the army, expecting in the darkness of the night to be unnoticed ; but he had only proceeded a few steps when he was discovered, and instantly the whole line was illuminated with torches made of straw ; while the air was filled with acclamations of "Vive l'Empereur." As he passed along, one of the old grenadiers stepping forward, accosted him with an air of republican familiarity and kindly patronage :—"Sire," said he, "you will have no need to expose yourself to danger ; I promise you, in the name of the grenadiers of the army,

exercise, halting at times to rectify their distances and directions; while the words of command of the individual officers were distinctly heard. The two divisions of Marshal Soult came first within reach of the enemy's fire. That division commanded by General Vandamme overthrew the opposing column, and was master of its position and artillery in an instant; the other, commanded by General St. Hilaire, had to sustain a tremendous fire, which lasted for two hours, and brought every one of its battalions into action. The Emperor now despatched the united grenadiers, and one of Marshal Bernadotte's divisions, to support those of Soult, while Lannes had engaged the right of the Russians, and effectually prevented them from moving to the assistance of their left, which was wholly engaged by the tremendous attack we have described, and entirely cut off from their centre. The extreme left of the Russians, which had begun the battle, perceiving the fatal mistake which had been made, attempted to re-ascend the Pratzer, but were so desperately pressed by Davoust, that they were compelled to fight where they stood, without daring either to advance or retire.

Marshal Soult now ordered his division, under Vandamme, supported by one of Bernadotte's divisions, to make a change of direction by the right flank, for the purpose of turning all the Russian troops which still resisted St. Hilaire's division. The movement was completely successful; and Soult's two divisions crowned the heights to which the Emperor had pointed before the battle began.

The right wing of the Russian army was meanwhile sustaining the tremendous onset of Lannes with both his divisions. The fight raged in that quarter throughout the whole of the operations we have detailed; but at this point, Bernadotte's division being no longer required to support those of Soult, the Emperor ordered the centre of the army to support the left. The Russian right was now entirely broken; the desperate and repeated charges of the cavalry completed the rout, and pursued the fugitives, who took the road to Austerlitz, till nightfall. Bernadotte, after pursuing the Russian infantry a full league, returned to his former position; nobody knew why. Had he, on the contrary, continued marching another half hour, he would have entirely intercepted the retreat, and taken or destroyed the whole of the Russian right. As it was, their flight was disastrous and terrible in the extreme: they were forced into a hollow, where numbers attempted to escape across a frozen lake; but the ice proving too weak for them, gave way, and the horrible scene which ensued—the crashing of the broken fragments, the thundering of the artillery, and the groans and shrieks of wounded and drowning men—baffles the imagination.

Marshal Soult, now changing his position again by the right flank, descended the heights, having traversed a complete semi-circle, and took





BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ.



the Russian extreme left in the rear. The Emperor of Russia, who perceived the imminent danger of his whole army, despatched his fine regiment of Russian guards, supported by a strong force of artillery, to attack Soult. Their desperate charge broke one of the French regiments. It was at this crisis that Napoleon brought his reserve into



action. Bessi  res, at the head of the imperial guard, rushed with irresistible fury into the fight. The Russians were entirely broken; their army, surprised in a flank movement, had been cut into as many separate masses as there were columns brought up to attack it. They fled in disorder, and the victory of Austerlitz was decided.

It was with the utmost difficulty that the two emperors of Russia and Austria effected their personal escape. The Emperor Alexander lost all his artillery, baggage, and standards; twenty thousand prisoners, and upwards of twenty thousand men killed and wounded. In the precipitate flight, the wounded were abandoned to their fate. Kutusoff, however, with laudable humanity, left placards in the French language on the doors of the churches and the barns towards which they had crept, inscribed with these words:—"I recommend these unfortunate men to the generosity of the Emperor Napoleon, and the humanity of his brave soldiers."



Napoleon had followed the movement of General Vandamme's division in pursuit of the defeated army. He returned in the evening along the whole line where the battle had been fought. He ordered silence, that he might hear the cries of the wounded; went himself to every sufferer that could be discovered; alighted and ordered a glass of brandy to be administered from the canteen which followed him, and a large fire to be made near the spot. He remained very late on the field, engaged in this manner, while his escort, by his directions, took the cloaks from the dead to cover the living; and did not finally retire until he had given them all in charge to a muster-master, assisted by a picket of his own guard, who were ordered not to leave them till they were all placed in the hospital. The wounded men loaded him with blessings, as he bestowed these cares upon them. As for the miserable Russian fugitives left perishing on the roads, and in the frozen waters, of the strange country to which their Emperor had conducted them, victims in the cause of legitimacy, their cries were heard from the midst of lakes and morasses, where no human aid could reach them; and it was three days before all that could be collected were brought into the hospital of Brunn. The loss sustained by the French army in killed and wounded amounted, according to the official bulletin, only to two thousand five hundred, and no account magnifies it beyond five thousand.



The following day, Prince John of Lichtenstein waited on Napoleon at his head-quarters, which were established in a barn. He had a long audience of him, and obtained his assent to a meeting with the Emperor of Austria on the following day: the pursuit notwithstanding continued.

On the 4th of December, the Emperor Napoleon, accompanied by his staff and an escort, repaired to the spot which had been appointed for his interview with the Emperor of Austria. It was near a mill, in front of the advanced posts of Bernadotte, about three leagues from Austerlitz. Napoleon, who arrived first, had a large fire lighted; and, on perceiving the approach of the Emperor of Austria in a landau, accompanied also by an escort and several noblemen of his court, advanced courteously to meet him. The Emperor of Austria alighted, and, accompanied only by Prince John of Lichtenstein, advanced with Napoleon towards the fire, the suites of both remaining at a distance. The interview lasted nearly two hours, and appeared amicable. "At any rate," says Savary, "the parties appeared to be in excellent humour. They laughed" (thirty or forty thousand men had been killed, it is true; but they were only soldiers and subjects!), "which seemed to us all to be a good omen. Accordingly, the sovereigns at length parted with a mutual embrace. Each of us ran to his duty; and, as I approached, I heard the Emperor Napoleon say, 'I agree to it; but your majesty must promise not to make war upon me again.' 'No, I promise you I will not,' replied the Emperor of Austria; 'and I will keep my word.'" How he kept it, the subsequent history will shew.



1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

3. The third part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.





